SELECTED WORKS OF
KIM IL-SUNG

Edited by Red Justice Press

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Kim Il-Sung

EDITORIAL PREFACE

While many selected and collected works of Kim Il-Sung exist, in both English and Korean, the present volume represents a selection based primarily on the present interests of our editors and what value we think the work of Kim Il-Sung might have in the western world. Focusing on various writings and speeches of his about art, creative activity, and beyond, this volume presents one of the more comprehensive looks at the North Korean leader's theoretical perspective on the use of art for the promotion of the People's War.

At the same time, these writings will elucidate some of the idiosyncrasies that were already apparent in Kim Il-Sung's work, and the revisionism that necessarily accompanied them. The nationalism, the development of Juche, and the collapse of a true Worker's State, which is now a revisionist dictatorship, is already hinted at in these writings.

But as with all things, it must be thoroughly contextualized why this happened. As we observe, the collapse of the Socialist state of North Korea was due to the immediate repression of imperialist regimes surrounding Korea, and also the abandonment of it by its allies; and then also pressure from its chief ally over time, the Soviet Union, which had betrayed its socialist character under Khrushchev and had already begun restoring capitalism.

As a result, North Korea was doomed to follow, though it attempted to hold out through policies of extreme isolationism. These in turn locked the country and made it increasingly difficult for it to play any role or participate in the broader global socialist movement. Thus, its collapse was due to imperialism and our sympathies therefore lie with the Korean people to this very day and their brave resistance to the force of bourgeois American capitalism, represented by America's puppet state South Korea. These writings of Kim Il-Sung are, therefore, still timely especially in that the revisionism may be accounted for, and some value still derived from them.

These works have been ordered chronologically, and in them one can see a steady development particularly of Kim Il-Sung's

conception of literature and art depicting the “hero” and “heroism” and utilizing specific individual examples to extol this heroism and patriotism. No doubt, this mirrors the eventual development of *Juche* and its gradual decline into Great Man theory and the Cult of Personality that would develop around him. Regardless, it is important we call out these revisionist tendencies while also taking what is good from Kim’s work, which there is much of value there. As Lenin reminded us in “On the Significance of Militant Materialism,” we call out elements guilty of reaction and regressivism, but we also use what is of utility for the furtherance of socialism.

Unless otherwise noted, these works reprinted here are taken from the *Kim Il-Sung Works* series published by Foreign Languages Publishing House in Pyongyang, which are posted on Marxists.org. We have endeavored only to correct spelling errors or similar and left the rest in tact.

Red Justice Press Staff
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Cultural Workers Should Become Combatants on the Cultural Front 1

Be True Men of Art and Literature For the Revolutionary Army 6

Talk to Teachers and Pupils of Pyongyang Primary School No. 2 12

On the Duties and Roles of Information Workers in the Building of a Democratic Korea 17

On Developing Art and Literature and Activating Mass Cultural Work 23

Some Tasks Before Writers and Artists at the Present Time 30

Our Art Should be Conducive to Early Victory in the War 40

On Some Questions Arising in Our Literature and Art 49

To Raise Our Art to a Higher Level 56

On Strengthening Party Political Education and Mass Cultural Work In the Countryside 60

For a Further Development of Literature and Art 70

Lenin's Theory is Our Guideline 76

Excerpt from *On Some Tasks of Party Organizers at the Present Time* 87

Let Us Create Many Literary and Art Works Reflecting Realities 90

The Cinema Should Have Great Appeal and Move Ahead of the Realities 96

On Properly Preserving Historical Remains and Relics 104

Excerpt from *Tasks of the Party Organizations in Ryanggang Province* 109

Excerpt from *On Some Immediate Tasks Of the City and County People's Committees* 112

On Waging a Vigorous Struggle Against Remnants of Old Ideologies Among Writers and Artists 116

On Communist Education 124

Let Us Further Develop Mass Art 147

On the Duty of the Educational Workers in the Raising of Children and Young People 154

Excerpts From *Our People's Army is an Army of the Working Class, an Army of the Revolution; Class and Political Education Should be Continuously Strengthened* 172

Let Us Create Many More Masterpieces of Revolutionary Literature and Art 203

Problems Related to the Development of the Korean Language 211

On Creating Revolutionary Literature and Art 224

Some Ideological and Aesthetic Problems in Works Based on Revolution 240

On Revolutionizing Teachers and Intensifying the Education of Students 253

Kim Il-Sung on the Opiate of the People 1 268

Kim Il-Sung on the Opiate of the People 2 269

SELECTED WORKS OF
KIM IL-SUNG

CULTURAL WORKERS SHOULD BECOME COMBATANTS ON THE CULTURAL FRONT (24 May 1946)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1980), 2.210–14.

Comrades,

The motive force behind the development of our society consists chiefly of the workers, peasants and intellectuals. You are fighting courageously to transform our old colonial, semi-feudal society into a progressive, democratic one and to build a new, democratic Korea.

The Korean people expect a great deal from you and, therefore, you have an extremely important duty to perform in the building of a democratic Korea.

You are combatants on the front of culture. You have the responsibility to attack, verbally or with the pen, the reactionary forces that try to regress[1] the development of Korean society; you have the obligation to develop our national culture and educate our masses in the spirit of patriotism and democracy. Whether we can crush the reactionary forces and build a new, democratic Korea depends largely on how you fight on the cultural front.

At one time cruelly repressed and humiliated by the Japanese imperialists, our intellectuals have been liberated and are now working energetically to construct the nation.

Since the liberation on August 15, 1945, the Korean intellectuals have contributed greatly to the work of building the nation. Today in north Korea we broadcast programmes and publish many different textbooks in our own language. The broad masses of the people are receiving strong information and education about democracy. Our drama, music and cinema are progressing rapidly, and Korean history is taught everywhere. Factories, mines, power

[1] We have chosen to use this instead of the more culturally offensive r-slur that was used in the original translation.

plants and railways are all run by Koreans. In each one of these activities our intellectuals have played a very important role.

The services of our intellectuals are not confined to these areas alone. You have actively participated or are participating in the establishment of the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea, in the struggle for the agrarian reform, in the campaign to rally support for the 20-Point Platform and in the fight against maneuvers of the reactionary Syngman Rhee clique and the imperialists who are trying to colonize our country once again. This proves to us that the cultural workers of Korea are reliable champions of democracy.

Thus, the overwhelming majority of the cultural workers in north Korea are now solidly united around our Party and the people's committee and are devoted to the struggle to build a democratic Korea.

However, the work of our cultural institutions and information agencies still has many shortcomings.

To begin with, our information workers, cultural workers and artists never go among the masses. Thus divorced from the people, our men and women of culture do not properly understand what the people think and what they want. Therefore, today I am asking you to go to the masses, mix with them, talk to them in plain language and write what they want. Only those who work for the masses, who fully understand their mentality, speak their language, write what they want to read and learn from them as well as teach them deserve to be called genuine cultural workers, cultural workers of the people, democratic cultural workers.

Second, we should learn tactics of information and culture. The struggle in Korea now is not armed struggle; it is political struggle and information and cultural warfare. We must win this battle. Since the enemy are spreading fraudulent propaganda, they have to resort to sophistry. But we do not have to use sophistry because we speak the truth. To explain the concepts of truth and justice to the masses, we have to speak and write only in a language they can understand. You must yourselves have strong faith in the sure victory of justice and truth and do your best to both increase the

political awareness and raise the cultural level of the working masses in our country.

Third, some of the cultural workers are not yet deeply convinced of the truth of democracy. I want to emphasize the importance of cultural workers grasping this truth and strengthening the ideological unity and cohesion in their ranks. Cultural workers themselves must win over their colleagues. Our artists and cultural workers should unite firmly under the banner of democracy and fight more resolutely to fulfil their honourable duty in the building of a new, democratic Korea.

Let me suggest a few concrete tasks for you:

1. An information network should be organized in every village, district and work centre. In the towns and the countryside, in all parts of our country, our information workers should educate broad sections of the masses in democratic ideas using simple spoken and written language both in what they say and what they write.

Itinerant theatre groups and lecture tours should be organized to propagandize what the state is doing now and what our people have to do.

2. We should organize a system for external information work for the intensification of the work for other countries. Geographically and politically Korea occupies a strategic position in the East. We neighbour such large countries as the Soviet Union and China, and many Eastern nations watch us with great interest. We should inform the Soviets, the Chinese, peoples of other countries and the oppressed nations throughout the world about past and present Korean life, our goals today and our plans for the future. We should try to establish relations of friendship and cooperation with the countries in the democratic camp and win sympathy and support from progressive mankind all over the world.

Because of deficiencies in our information work abroad, even the people in Northeast China just across the river do not have adequate information about the situation in north Korea. We must eliminate this lag immediately.

3. We should completely eliminate the survivals of Japanese imperialist ideas in literature, art and science, the remnants of which are still glaringly evident. They can be eradicated only through persistent struggle.

Our cultural workers should first of all remove all traces of Japanese imperialism in their speech and behaviour and liquidate residues of such ideas in their work.

4. In order to develop the national culture of Korea, we should carry forward our fine cultural heritage and assimilate the best in the culture of the socialist countries. We can point to two incorrect tendencies among our cultural workers: either they praise only what is ours and declare everything foreign to be bad, or they vilify everything in our culture and extol only what is Western. Both are wrong. The former is a chauvinistic tendency to preserve intact even the backward examples of our own culture and reject the good in others. The latter is a nihilistic tendency to deny the merits of national culture and blindly Westernize.

Our cultural workers should develop positive aspects of Korean culture and correct what is backward, as well as adopt progressive elements from the cultures of advanced countries that suit our character. By doing so they will develop our national culture and art. These, then, are the most correct ways to build our national culture.

5. We should facilitate the establishment of a provisional government of Korea capable of putting into practice the 20-Point Platform promulgated by the Provisional People's Committee of North Korea. In addition to this we should wage an energetic struggle against the reactionary Syngman Rhee clique.

In an attempt to recolonize Korea, the imperialists are now protecting and encouraging the remaining forces of Japanese imperialism in south Korea and suppressing the struggle of the people for national independence and democracy. We must exert every effort to firmly unite the democratic forces all over the country and make the democratic base in north Korea impregnable. If we are to frustrate all the imperialists' plots and maneuvers and win complete

independence and sovereignty for our country, this must be our tactic. We must struggle on valiantly, in even stronger unity, certain that victory will be ours.

BE TRUE MEN OF ART AND LITERATURE FOR THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY (30 April 1947)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1980), 3.222–27.

Today I saw the first public performance of the professional troupe of artists organized within the army and found it fairly good. You cannot feel satisfied with the first spoonfuls, can you? Now, you have made a start, and it has been a big success. You have much work ahead of you.

As you know, art is one of the important media of ideological education. For this reason, when we are fighting against Japanese imperialism in the past, we attached great significance to artistic activities and often organized performances in guerrilla bases. Of course, we did not have the professional troupes and actors in those days that we have now. But the guerrillas sang plenty of revolutionary songs like the *Guerrilla March*, the words and music of which they had composed between battles. They also worked out dances and wrote plays for themselves which they presented to the public.

Such literary and artistic activities greatly contributed to the education of the guerrillas and people in the years of armed struggle against the Japanese. By means of revolutionary art and literature, we imbued the guerrillas with an infinite fidelity to the revolution, indomitable fighting spirit and revolutionary optimism during the arduous, long-drawn-out revolutionary struggle and convinced the people, too, of the righteousness of our revolutionary cause and inspired them with firm confidence in victory.

Our army's troupe of artists should carry forward the traditions of the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army and conduct revolutionary literary and artistic activities in the army more briskly. In this way, it will greatly contribute to inspiring all the soldiers with an unbreakable revolutionary spirit and educating them to be revolutionary fighters faithfully serving their country and people. It

will also sow the seeds of ardent love for our army among the people and strengthen the kindred ties between the army and people.

First of all, many songs and dances performed by the anti-Japanese guerrillas in the past should be sought out and presented on the stage. Those songs were all vibrant and optimistic, and the dances, too, were full of fighting spirit. Soldiers must have such revolutionary songs and dances, inspiring them with virility, redoubled courage and fresh strength. Only then will the soldiers and people be stirred and inspired greatly to the worthy struggle to build and defend a new Korea.

At the same time, folk songs and dances unique to our country should be developed. Our national culture and arts are rich in excellent works depicting the resourceful and patriotic struggle of our people and congenial to their sentiments. Our national dance, in particular, excels in its nobility, elegance and vigour. Because the Japanese imperialists banned the performance of our own works in days gone by, we were unable even to sing freely our own songs. But now we must perform our own pieces, Korean works, mustn't we? If we do not revive our national culture and arts, our own things will disappear for good. We should boldly discard outdated and backward elements from the heritage of our unique national culture and actively discover and develop what is progressive and popular. And we should adopt progressive works of foreign literature and arts, which agree with Korean sentiments, for the advancement of our national culture and arts.

Furthermore, we should create new works of art and literature at a faster pace. Now that our country has been liberated and the people are creating new lives as the masters of the country, there are many literary and artistic themes available. You should enrich the ensemble's repertoire by creating works on subjects chosen from contemporary life such as the fruitful efforts of our people to build a new country and the resourceful struggle of our gallant soldiers striving for national defence.

There are now many survivals of obsolete Japanese imperialist ideas in the field of arts, and you must launch a vigorous

campaign to eradicate them. You must begin with an effort to completely dispel the stench and air of Japanese imperialism from our language and behaviour and, in particular, to prevent the revival of its outworn style in the artistic works you create. You should also keep strict guard against the infiltration of vulgar dances and the like which have nothing to do with our revolutionary work.

You, actors and actresses of the ensemble, are the art and literary workers of the revolutionary army and the Party's information workers fighting on one flank of the ideological educational front. You serve the soldiers and the masses of the people and contribute to the revolution through your artistic endeavours. Those comrades who participated in the premiere have already embarked on this honourable mission.

You must be fully equipped politically and ideologically before you educate soldiers. Otherwise, you cannot educate others, far from being true artists of the revolutionary army. You should have a higher degree of political awareness than anyone else, ardent love of your country and people and bitter hatred for the enemy.

To this end, you should study politics diligently and constantly strengthen your ideological training. We must all know politics without exception. Only then will we be able to faithfully serve the revolution, fully aware for what and for whom we are working.

If you are to become artists loyal to the soldiers and people, you must acquire a high level of artistic skill as well as excellent politico-ideological qualifications. For this reason, you must learn and learn. As sons and daughters of workers and peasants, none of us had free access to schools under the rule of Japanese imperialism in the past. You should not feel ashamed of learning. If you hide your ignorance and neglect study, you will not be able to make progress. You should apply yourselves wholly to study without hesitation. In this way you will improve your ideological and artistic qualities as quickly as possible and become excellent men of art and literature for the revolutionary army.

In order to be highly successful in its artistic activities, the ensemble must strengthen the unity of ideology and will and solidarity within its ranks. This is important. You should not behave like the cock of the walk, each claiming that he is the graduate of a certain school, that he was educated in such-and-such a place or that he is the wisest. If you do that, you will tend to develop a sycophantic attitude and coteries will tend to form which we guard against most strictly. Then, you will make no success at all in your artistic activities. You should display collective wisdom in your artistic activities, united as one in mind and purpose and helping and leading each other forward.

A rigid revolutionary discipline must be enforced in the ensemble. Just as an undisciplined army is inefficient in battle, so an undisciplined troupe will be unsuccessful in its artistic activities. You should discard all the outdated habits of looseness acquired during the years of Japanese imperialism and strive to make the ensemble a truly revolutionary and disciplined troupe so that it will unquestioningly carry out the behests of the country and the people, the revolutionary tasks given to it by the Party.

If you are to be efficient artists you must also be physically strong. You should always take good care of your health and temper yourselves well with varied exercise; you should be ready to perform faithfully anytime and anywhere the tasks given you by the Party and the country.

In order to develop the ensemble, we must swell the ranks of its members. It would be advisable to reinforce your ranks in future by enlisting good artists from civilian communities, while at the same time organizing frequent art group competitions in the army and selecting artistically promising soldiers. More musical instruments should be obtained. Since instruments are like weapons to the musicians, we must buy more if there are not enough.

The actors and actresses of the ensemble should be provided with costumes made of fine cloth. Fine costumes will augment the morale of the players and delight the spectators.

We should provide actors and actresses with everything necessary for their job and take good care of their living conditions.

Since it is an army troupe, the ensemble cannot always expect to perform on lavishly set stages. It will have to perform on playgrounds, mountains or even in trenches. This is exactly how the anti-Japanese guerrillas used to give their performances in days gone by.

Stages are offered to the artists not so as to make individuals famous but to let them do artistic work for the soldiers and people. The actors and actresses of the ensemble must understand this clearly and always be prepared to perform anytime and anywhere if the country and the people require it.

The ensemble is a centrally organized group so it must play not only in the army but also play a good deal for the people in Pyongyang and the provinces.

It would be advisable for the army's art organization to be called the Song and Dance Ensemble, the name we have already given it.

The ensemble's work has only started. Many difficulties and obstacles are bound to crop up. Proper instruments and costumes are not yet ready and the artistic level of actors and actresses is not especially high. But you should not be discouraged. If all of you soldiers apply yourselves to the task with a clear understanding of the purpose and significance of your work, you will feel fresh strength welling up and overcome whatever difficulties might arise. You should work aggressively and overcome all difficulties and obstacles one by one with an unbreakable fighting spirit and firm confidence just as the anti-Japanese guerrillas did.

The members of the Song and Dance Ensemble under the Security Officers Training Battalion Headquarters are entrusted with the heavy responsibility of becoming the hard core of the art force of the People's Army which is to be founded. You should therefore have the firm resolve and revolutionary determination to dedicate all your lives to the service of the Party, the country and the masses of the

soldiers and devote all your resources and talents to the revolutionary literary and art work of the People's Army.

TALK TO TEACHERS AND PUPILS OF PYONGYANG PRIMARY SCHOOL NO. 2 (4 July 1947)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1980), 3.294–99.

I have come here today because I wanted to see the pupils of Pyongyang Primary School No. 2 who go in heart and soul for the state graduation examinations. I am, indeed, delighted and feel more confident of the future on seeing you studying hard in such high spirits and good health.

The teachers are enthusiastic about their job and the school is well looked after. The pupils are not only very disciplined but also good at their lessons. All those taking the state graduation examinations gave correct answers to questions about the content and significance of the agrarian reform and about the population and size of our country. Their written answers, too, showed good results.

You pupils have a great ambition too. One of you has expressed the wish to be an architect, a really splendid ambition. You should study in earnest so that you can build many fine schools and magnificent edifices in Pyongyang, the democratic capital.

Teaching the children to be patriotic is of primary importance in school education. Only when they are brought up in the spirit of strong patriotism, can they become workers in the future who bear an infinite love for their country and people and struggle devotedly for their interests.

If schoolchildren are to be imbued with a spirit of patriotism, they should be taught the history and traditions of our people's struggle.

Our people have a proud history of valiant struggle waged against foreign invaders since olden times. During the darkest days of Japanese imperialist colonial rule, in particular, they fought an armed struggle against the Japanese and brought about the triumph of the historic cause of national liberation. The history and traditions of this struggle should be taught to the pupils to boost their national

pride and provide them with a firm groundwork as true nation builders of the future who will be capable of fighting devotedly for their country and people.

Keeping the schoolchildren well informed about our country is vital.

The school should give informative lectures on the history, geography, and language of our country and similar subjects and also arrange regular visits to factories, enterprises, farm villages and beauty spots. All the pupils should thus be inspired with immense pride and self-respect in having been born and educated in Korea so as to study harder and develop an ardent love for their country and people.

One aspect of patriotic education deserving attention is to instill hatred for the enemy in the pupils and encourage them to fight against him resolutely.

A lofty spirit of patriotism finds expression not only in love for one's country and people but also in hatred for the class enemy and in an implacable struggle against him. Pupils should be taught in all clarity exactly who are our enemies.

The enemies of our people today are the US imperialists and the reactionaries including the pro-Japanese and pro-American elements and betrayers of the nation.

The school is now educating the pupils to fight against the reactionaries in south Korea, under the slogan "Down with the Syngman Rhee clique!" That is a good thing. Syngman Rhee and other south Korean reactionaries are faithful stooges of US imperialism and traitors to the nation who sold out our country to the American imperialists.

Educational work to encourage the struggle against American imperialism and Japanese imperialism should also be intensified.

The American imperialists have continually perpetrated acts of aggression against our country for a long time, and, furthermore, occupied south Korea after liberation. They are doing everything to make our people their colonial slaves. The Japanese imperialists are

the inveterate enemy of our people; they occupied our country for 36 years and cruelly oppressed and exploited our people.

Pupils should be brought up to take good care of the property of their country and people. To begin with, they should be taught to take loving care of their desks and chairs and the rest of the school property and, later on, the wealth of the country and the people, so that they acquire in childhood the habit of treasuring state and public property.

Moral education should be strengthened among the schoolchildren.

By ennobling themselves morally through education, they will grow up to be excellent workers of the new Korea who one day will command the trust and respect of the people. The school should give them effective moral education to make sure that all of them respect their elders, love their comrades and collective, are well-mannered and lead a sound life.

Physical training be well organized.

Even if they are good at study and ideologically sound, schoolchildren will be unable to make an active contribution to nation building unless they are healthy. A good physical training is especially important in view of the fact that they are at the age of physical growth.

The school should see to it that the pupils go in for sports and become physically fit by organizing all kinds of physical training. For this purpose, a good playground should be laid out and adequately provided with horizontal bars and various other sports equipment.

In order to rear pupils to be the mainstay of our country in the future, the teachers themselves should be well qualified politically, ideologically and practically.

Innocent children assimilate the ideas, knowledge, language and manners taught by their teachers. So, unless the teachers are well prepared politically, ideologically and practically, they will be unable to educate their pupils as needed. By making intensive efforts to remould their ideological consciousness, the teachers should erase from their minds the survivals of Japanese imperialist ideas and all

other outdated ideas. At the same time, they should break with the old teaching methods of Japanese imperialism and establish new teaching methods compatible with the progressive, democratic system of education. They should constantly improve their political and practical qualifications through a profound study of the decisions and instructions of the People's Committee of North Korea (PCNK) and through an effective study of pedagogical subjects and current events.

In conclusion, I should like to mention a few tasks for the schoolchildren.

Schoolchildren should study well. No task is more important for you than studying well. Even when the examinations are over, you should keep on studying as diligently as you have done in preparing for the examinations. You should give special attention to the study of arithmetic and other natural science subjects.

If you are to succeed in your studies, you must first of all understand clearly for what and for whom you are learning. You should bear in mind that you are being educated to be excellent builders of the new Korea, not to make a display of your learning and give yourselves airs as students did in the years of Japanese imperialism.

You must completely digest the day's lessons before you pass on to the next. To be able to do this you should pay attention in the classroom and do all your homework for the previous and forthcoming lessons. After school you should read plenty of children's newspapers, magazines and other publications.

For the present the state is not in a position to provide schoolchildren with enough notebooks, pencils and other good-quality school supplies. But the question of school supplies will be solved some time in the future as the country grows more prosperous. So you should study hard, without grumbling about your notebooks, pencils, and the like.

Schoolchildren should do well in the organizations of the Children's Union. You should willingly participate in the organizational life of the union and punctually carry out the assignments given by the organization. In particular, criticism should

be intensified in the Children's Union organizations, so that children cultivate the good habit of helping one another to correct their mistakes.

You should also go to factories, enterprises and farm villages to do information work and give artistic performances to encourage your parents who are striving to build a new Korea. The performance given today by the children of this school was excellent. I hope you will make progress with your artistic activities.

In the future, we plan to introduce compulsory primary education and educate the students of specialized schools, colleges and universities at state expense.

These measures will enable the sons and daughters of workers, peasants and other working masses to study freely and become the native cadres, even though they were denied the chance of getting an education formerly, in the years of Japanese imperialism, because they were poor.

Compulsory education and state-financed education are possible only under our democratic system with the PCNK, a genuine people's government. As you all know, the PCNK as a government established by the people themselves represents the interests and will of the people and acts on their behalf. That is why the people are giving unqualified support to the PCNK and protecting it.

The PCNK, a genuine people's government, has put forward the policy of introducing compulsory primary education and state-financed tertiary education and is striving to put it into effect. When this policy is implemented, all children of school age will be given free education and the tertiary students stipends.

The state is going to supply clothes to the teachers as well who are dedicated to the education of the younger generation.

I firmly believe that the teachers and children of Pyongyang Primary School No. 2 will in the future, too, as in the past, uphold the educational policy of the PCNK and strive to carry it out.

ON THE DUTIES AND ROLES OF INFORMATION WORKERS IN THE BUILDING OF A DEMOCRATIC KOREA (7 Sept 1947)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1980), 3.371–76.

Nowadays information workers have a very important function. The task of educating the people in democratic ideas and giving them ideological training is performed by them, and it is also through information work that our correct policies designed to strengthen the people's power are brought home to the people. Efficiency in information work helps to give the people a proper understanding of all the policies advanced by the People's Committee of North Korea (PCNK), and failure in it will preclude it.

Information workers should strive to understand more correctly the honourable mission they have assumed for the state and people, and step up information work.

First of all, they should properly grasp all the matters involved in the building of a democratic Korea. If not, they cannot explain them correctly to the people.

They should become competent officials of democratic Korea who are well prepared politically and ideologically. To do this, they should raise their theoretical level, and make a close study of the policies and ordinances of the PCNK in particular until they master them.

Second, they should work hard to build up the PCNK.

The PCNK, a genuine people's government organ whose members were elected by the people, pursues correct policies to meet their interests and will serve them without any vacillation in the face of all trials.

For the PCNK to initiate correct policies and implement them to the letter, political education should be intensified among the officials of the people's power organs.

All the directors of the information departments of provinces should take prompt measures to correctly inform the officials of the people's power organs of the policies and ordinances adopted by the PCNK, as well as the domestic and international situation. And they should conduct in a planned way information and educational work to raise the latter's political and theoretical level.

Information workers should also intensify educational work to rid the officials of the people's power organs of the outdated methods and style of work that prevailed during Japanese imperialist rule, and in fact persist even now.

In this way, they should help the latter prepare themselves to be genuine native cadres who faithfully serve their country and people.

To arm all the people with democratic ideas presents itself as an urgent national task today. If they are fully equipped with democratic ideas, it is possible for them to carry out any task, however difficult and complex, and there is nothing to fear whatever crafty methods and means subversive elements employ to worm their way into our ranks.

All the officials of the people's power organs from the directors of the PCNK bureaus to the chairpersons of ri people's committees should set aside at least four hours a week to conduct political education among the people. All the directors of the information departments of provinces should explain the direction for educational work to the officials of the people's power organs once a month and arrange regular short courses for the instructors of political education classes.

Information workers should press ahead with political and cultural activities, and make the most of wall newspapers and reading sessions.

Wall newspapers and reading sessions constitute an important means of educating the people in democratic ideas. They should serve the dual purposes of giving publicity to the good examples in the building of a democratic Korea and explaining the policies and ordinances of the PCNK.

If all cadres, both senior and junior, achieve a solid political unity with the people, they can foil any vicious plot of the reactionary forces in time.

This unity can be achieved only through diligent political education. Information workers should intensify political education of the cadres and people to prepare them to be a powerful political force united firmly behind the PCNK.

In addition, they should strive to consolidate and develop the successes made in the democratic reforms.

What is essential in this regard is to overfulfil the national economic plan for 1947. To lay a solid basis for the development of our nation and the building of a democratic Korea by overfulfilling this annual plan is the most important task facing all the people in north Korea at present.

But the information work needed to inspire the masses to further efforts for the overfulfilment of this year's national economic plan remains in abeyance. Information workers should conduct this work on a wide-enough scale.

The building of a democratic Korea is unthinkable apart from economic construction, and we cannot build a completely independent and sovereign state without achieving economic self-sufficiency. By implementing the national economic plan we are turning the colonial industry of our country into self-supporting national industry and laying the foundations for the building of an independent national economy. We should build an independent national economy and support ourselves by relying on our own resources, not on others'. We can achieve economic self-sufficiency only when all the people overcome all manner of difficulties by making positive efforts with great enthusiasm for production.

Information workers should give wide publicity to the fact that the people can improve their standard of living only when they take an active part in economic construction to increase the production of the necessities of life. Especially, they should help the people clearly understand the political significance and importance

of the implementation of the national economic plan, so that they can make positive efforts for its overfulfilment.

The primary task for the information work related to agriculture is to encourage the peasants to pay the agricultural tax in kind within the set period and in full.

Only by doing so can they fulfil their duty to the state. Today in our country the food problem is one on which hinges success in the building of a democratic Korea. At the moment, food is as precious as gold. The full payment of the agricultural tax in kind within the set period is fundamental to the formulation of the national economic plan for next year. In this sense grains are of great importance in the development of the national economy.

Information workers should provide all the peasants with effective education, so that they understand the importance of paying their share of the agricultural tax in kind to the state within the set period and in full. They should also urge them to economize on grains. They should see to it that the peasants do not waste grains by making wine or toffee from them, or give sumptuous feasts on ceremonial occasions.

The second task is to encourage the peasants to prepare plenty of seed grains.

During the sowing season this year they borrowed quite a large amount of seed grains from the state. This is proof that they neglected this matter.

Information workers should give the peasants a proper understanding of the importance of preparing plenty of seed grains.

The third task is to encourage the people to remain more vigilant and guard the granaries against possible arson attacks by reactionary forces.

Traitors to the nation and stooges of the Japanese are ever watchful for a chance to set fire to the granaries in a bid to worsen the living conditions of our people. That is why all the people should keep strict vigilance against such attempts to make them suffer from famine. They should also defend all materials, buildings, facilities and transport services against sabotage by reactionary forces.

The fourth task is to encourage the people to conserve forests through an all-people campaign.

Forest conservation is closely linked with agricultural production, and an important undertaking to ensure that the agricultural and other land of the country remains fertile.

Information workers should explain the significance of forest conservation to all the people, and disseminate the requisite knowledge among them, so that they will work hard to conserve forests with a lofty sense of patriotism.

The fifth task is to encourage them to turn out en masse in river improvement projects.

The Japanese imperialists stopped at nothing to rob our country of precious natural resources, paying no heed to the above projects. Consequently, floods ravaged our land every year, causing many deaths and heavy losses of property. We should build banks of earth and stone alongside the rivers to prevent flooding and reclaim more land under cultivation to expand the agricultural land area.

Information workers should make the people clearly cognizant of the importance of the river improvement projects, so that they will take an active part in them with a lofty sense of patriotism.

Next, information workers should give the people a correct understanding of the work of public security men.

There are still many people who do not have a correct understanding of the work of public security men. They are sons and daughters of the working people, who volunteered to struggle for the defence of the people's lives and property and the building of a democratic Korea against the enemy's attacks. They have assumed the most difficult yet honourable duty in the building of a democratic Korea.

Other people should encourage them to perform their duties to the full, and help them remain faithful to their responsibilities free from worries about their families. They should rid themselves of the wrong perception of the work of public security men as being the equivalent of the old-time Japanese police, and achieve unity with them to defend the country through concerted efforts.

In addition, information workers should educate all the people to struggle against reactionary forces.

They should give wide publicity to the brilliant successes made by the north Koreans in their efforts to build a democratic Korea and the rapidly developing reality here. This will enable them to realize clearly that the path that we are following is the only right course leading to the independence and development of Korea. They should, at the same time, lay bare the criminal attempts of the pro-Japanese and pro-American forces and traitors to the nation to obstruct our struggle for the building of a democratic country and turn our land again into a feudal and colonial state. Then they will fight the reactionary forces with vehement hatred of the enemy. We should expand the scope of the democratic national united front to purge the traitorous reactionary forces from south Korea.

Information workers should intensify information work with the focus on the above-mentioned points, thus rousing all the people to active participation in the building of a democratic Korea.

ON DEVELOPING ART AND LITERATURE AND ACTIVATING MASS CULTURAL WORK (16 Sept 1947)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1980), 3.377–83.

Today we have discussed all the items on the agenda and made relevant decisions.

In the belief that you will vigorously endeavour to bring into effect what has been discussed and decided on at the meeting, I should now like to touch on a few problems.

To begin with, I should like to remark on the need to develop art and literature.

In order to develop art and literature, it is most important to arm writers and artistes with democratic thoughts.

In the past there were people among Korea's men of culture who fought stubbornly against Japanese imperialism's repression in defence of our priceless national culture and the arts, but the greater part of them served Japanese imperialism and the propertied classes. Even if they cherished patriotic and progressive thoughts, the circumstances at the time prevented them from writing books for the working people and expressing their true thoughts and feelings in their works. Under Japanese imperialist rule, Korea's men of culture found themselves in a position in which, regardless of their own wishes, they could not but serve Japanese imperialism and the propertied classes if they were to earn a living.

After the August 15 liberation, however, they have become new men of culture in the service of their country and people.

Upholding the policies of our Party and people's government and in firm alliance with the workers and peasants after liberation, they have made every effort to carry out the tasks assigned to them. They have used all their wisdom and talents to rehabilitate and develop the national culture and the arts which had been cruelly trampled underfoot by the Japanese imperialists, and have also played a great role in an important aspect of our great democratic reforms.

Our men of culture have made a tremendous contribution to the building of a new, democratic Korea and in the course of this have greatly grown ideologically. Thus, many progressive writers and artistes have come to join Party ranks.

However, there still remain a lot of old ideological survivals of Japanese imperialism among the writers and artistes.

If you think they have got rid of all the old ideas and practices of Japanese imperialism and have now become impeccable working intellectuals, you are mistaken. The remnants of old ideas in the minds of people cannot be eliminated completely in a day; they can be overcome only through tireless and persevering ideological education and struggle. The men of culture are now in the process of being transformed into working intellectuals and casting away their outdated thoughts.

The remnants of the old ideas of Japanese imperialism remaining among the writers and artistes affect the development of our art and literature unfavourably in various ways. At present our art and literature are failing to keep pace with the requirements put on them by the task of building a new, democratic Korea and with the demands of the people; they fail to shed their narrow forms of handicraft and they are thus divorced from the broad sections of the masses.

Therefore, the Party organization of the General Federation of the Unions of Art and Literature (GFUAL) should devote the bulk of its efforts to strengthening the ideological education of writers and artistes.

It should vigorously conduct the education of the writers and artistes in democratic ideas, so that all of them create more works of art and literature reflecting vividly and truthfully the actual life of our people. Thus, fine textbooks and sharp weapons must be produced which can be used to educate the working masses who have risen in the building of a new country.

In order to develop art and literature, we should train more new writers and artistes from among the working people while

simultaneously drawing the old-time writers and artistes actively into the work of building national culture.

We now have very few new writers and artistes coming from among the workers and peasants. Writers and artistes should rid themselves of mysticism about art and the tendency of neglecting new writers and artistes, and make vigorous efforts to train more of them. The GFUAL must strengthen work with them to promote and develop their creativity and zeal, and help them to quickly become able workers in their field.

The methods of realism must be applied to the creation of art and literary works.

In order to create realistic works, writers and artistes should delve deep into the real world. Unless they absorb themselves in reality, they will not be able to create works accurately describing the life, thoughts, feelings and wishes of the masses of the people. Writers and artistes should make contact with the real world and produce works based on the living material provided by our people's achievements in building a new country. Thus, they must create templates of positive heroes and heroines who work with devotion for the building of a new country, and produce many popular works accurately reflecting democratic changes.

In order to develop art and literature we should also assimilate the advanced culture of foreign countries.

Of course, we should be proud of our own art and literature and give prominence to them. But we should not be confined within narrow national bounds. For the development of art and literature we should not only take over and develop the legacies of our own national culture but also learn to assimilate the advanced culture of foreign countries in keeping with the realities of our country.

However, some people in the cultural field exhibit the chauvinist tendency of unconditionally rejecting the advanced culture of foreign countries under the pretext of keeping the national heritage alive. We should combat this.

A resolute struggle should also be waged among the writers and artistes against the tendency towards the groundless criticism of other people's works.

Some writers and artistes have not yet shed this bad habit of needlessly picking holes in the work of others while they themselves are incapable of creating anything.

Take for example the film North Korea showing the realities of our country, which was finished by the film studio some time ago. The Film Union is finding fault with it quite unreasonably.

We must strengthen ideological education and struggle to root out these undesirable tendencies revealed among writers and artistes, so that they devote all their efforts to creating and developing popular art and literature.

The GFUAL should firmly build up its affiliated union organizations and set up a well-regulated work system, establishing rigid system and order within the unions. And the federation should pay careful attention to guaranteeing adequate working conditions for writers and artistes to do their job without hindrance.

Now, I should like to speak about the question of vigorous cultural work at grass-roots level.

Vigorous cultural work at grass-roots level is of great importance in arming the people with democratic ideas, in consolidating the mass basis for the construction of national culture and in promoting the building of a new Korea.

We have already set forth the policy of placing under state ownership all cultural and artistic establishments and facilities including the theatres, cinemas and libraries of the Japanese imperialists and their lackeys, and of building new facilities of mass culture in the service of the masses of the people wherever there are working people and of actively developing mass culture. As a result, various cultural facilities have been set up in factories and enterprises including the People's Factory in the Hungnam District, for the working people's cultural life.

In the People's Factory in the Hungnam District and all other units, however, mass cultural work is now falling short of the level

required by the Party and is in a very backward state. This is because the trade union organizations and leading personnel of the factories do not fully understand the importance and significance of mass cultural work and fail to make efforts to promote and develop it.

We should rectify the shortcomings revealed in mass cultural work as soon as possible and see to it that the work is conducted at a brisker pace among the broad sections of the working masses.

To these ends, it is necessary, first of all, to edit various publications including newspapers and magazines and to create works of art and literature such as songs and stories that are easy for the working masses to understand and rich in content.

As has been pointed out in the report and speeches at today's meeting, newspapers, magazines and other such publications, and works of art and literature are now not only poor in substance but also are sprinkled profusely with difficult words unintelligible to the masses of the people and contain a lot of material incompatible with the realities of our country.

Some comrades use difficult words they themselves do not understand in their writings on the pretext of heightening the tone of the newspapers, magazines or stories and try to explain these words to the masses. They are grossly mistaken. Any works, however high their artistic value and ideological content may be, are useless if they are not understood and grasped by the people. The reason is that this conflicts with the fundamental aims of newspapers, magazines and other such publications and works of art and literature including fiction.

Some people say that writings intelligible to the working masses debase the ideological and artistic qualities of publications and works of art and literature and their values. But this is also an erroneous argument stemming from a wrong ideological viewpoint.

As you all know, the ideological and artistic qualities and values of publications such as newspapers and magazines and works of art and literature, including stories and songs, are determined by their themes and content, and in no way by whether their wording is unintelligible to the masses or not. Therefore, we should pay

considerable attention to ensuring that all kinds of publications and works of art and literature get closer to the masses and better serve the purposes of cultural enlightenment of the masses of the working people.

For lively mass cultural work, it is necessary to create more works of art and literature including songs.

At present, we not only have few songs that serve the masses of the working people and that the masses can enjoy singing but also have an insignificant number of good songs that professionals can sing. This could be clearly seen from the performances of the peasant music and dance group from Kangwon Province in the art festival held to mark the second anniversary of the August 15 liberation. They performed dances depicting sowing, harvesting and various other things, but owing to a lack of suitable songs, their performances simply ran on noisily harping on the same tune from start to finish. We cannot develop mass cultural work in this manner.

Writers and artistes should work hard to create and popularize large numbers of songs and other works of art and literature suited to the feelings of our people and reflecting working reality.

In order to conduct mass cultural work vigorously, it is also important to improve the management ability of the personnel in charge of it. Because at present the leadership is fairly incompetent, mass culture is dull.

The Cultural Workers Department of the Party Central Committee should organize a short course for those in charge of cultural work. The course must give lectures on the methods of mass cultural work and a number of questions arising in popularizing it. The Cultural Workers Department of the Party Central Committee should give proper guidance so that mass cultural work becomes the masses' own concern.

It would be a good idea to organize full-time theatrical groups in factories and enterprises. There are complaints that because the workers who are enlisted in the theatrical groups have their own production assignments, they have no time for rehearsal, and that it is difficult to mobilize them for performance. The Information

Department of the People's Committee of North Korea must examine the matter and organize full-time theatrical groups suited to the conditions prevailing in the factories and enterprises.

In mass cultural work the stress should be on thoroughly equipping Party members and other working people with the policies of the Party and the people's government.

All factories and enterprises should readjust and expand their radio and rediffusion facilities to suit their actual conditions so that the workers regularly listen to them, and should properly organize and run regularly cultural education facilities including clubhouses and libraries. And popular meeting places should be furnished with newspapers and other publications so that everyone can read them, and measures should be taken to allow readers to borrow publications so that they can even read them at home.

By vigorously conducting mass cultural work among the masses, Party organizations and social organizations at all levels should actively encourage them to the campaign for overfulfilling this year's national economic plan.

SOME TASKS BEFORE WRITERS AND ARTISTS AT THE PRESENT TIME (22 Dec 1949)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works*, Second ed. (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1994), 5.275–84.

Today I would like to talk about some tasks before writers and artists at the present time.

The present situation at home and abroad is very complex. On the international scene the conflict between peace-loving democratic forces and imperialist reactionary forces is getting more intense.

The peoples of the Soviet Union, a socialist country, and of the People's Democracies, are waging a vigorous struggle in the cause of world peace and security against the war maneuvers of imperialists. The national liberation struggle against colonial oppression and exploitation, and the movement of the working class to break away from the chains of capital are fierce in many countries.

Oblivious of the historic lessons of World War II and dreaming of dominating the world, the imperialists are now working by all means to start another world war and to plunge mankind into its horrors.

In particular, US imperialism, which emerged imperialist boss after World War II, has made pronounced attempts to unleash a new war, along with intensified exploitation and plunder of the people at home, in order to achieve its aggressive aims. The US imperialists have set up military bases all over the world, rigged up various types of military blocs, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and are building up forces of aggression by bringing together the reactionary forces of their satellite states. Moreover, in violation of the international agreements, they are reviving West Germany and militarist Japan. They are plotting to break up People's Democracies from within by smuggling spies, wreckers and saboteurs into these countries.

Mercilessly suppressing the international working-class movement and the movement for peace, the US imperialists are

making use of all the press media available to justify war and aggression.

All this shows how frenziedly the imperialist reactionary forces are preparing for another war.

The US imperialists are openly maneuvering to start a new war in our country, too.

In order to realize their sinister plans of turning our country into a colony, they are tightening their colonial rule in south Korea and, at the same time, stepping up war preparations to invade the northern half of Korea. The US imperialists and the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique are together intensifying fascist suppression and plunder of the south Korean people more than ever. They are continuously introducing lethal weapons into south Korea and committing armed skirmishes along the 38th parallel. In short, the situation in our country today is so tense that a war may be sparked off by the US imperialists and traitorous Syngman Rheeites at any moment.

The prevailing situation at home and abroad demands that all the people always live and work in a tense situation and be ready for mobilization. Writers and artists, in particular, should step up their literary and artistic efforts as required by the situation.

However, they are failing to keep up their creative activities as required by the situation. Many of them are ignorant of the reality and the Party's political demands at the present moment. They are carrying on their activities merely to entertain. Some are engrossed in praising the beauty of nature, oblivious of the lesson taught by history—that the feudal rulers of old frittered away their time doing nothing but riding donkeys and reciting poems, only to spell ruin for the country. This is apparent in their recent works. Our writers and artists should stop trying to recite poems, sing songs or create works interspersed with flowery words. These are all devoid of the revolutionary spirit and serve only to entertain. However full of frills, a work which fails to reflect the needs of the time and the people is useless.

Literature and the arts are one of powerful means of political and ideological education of our Party. Therefore, writers and artists should become defenders of and spokesmen for the interests of our Party and people. They should be warriors who educate the people and defend the Republic.

The writers and artists should be fully aware of the Party's political demands and the trend of the situation and make their activities fall in line with them.

What, then, are the important tasks before the writers and artists at the present time?

First, they should direct great efforts to portraying the struggle of the working people, including the workers and peasants who are performing heroic feats in their endeavours to carry out the national economic plan.

Portraying their heroic struggle is the most important duty of our literature and the arts. The working people are the masters in the building of a new, democratic Korea. Success, in the cause of building a prosperous, completely independent and sovereign democratic state, depends entirely on how we organize and mobilize them.

All means of political and ideological education in the hands of our Party should make a positive contribution to mobilizing the working people for carrying out the great task of nation building, and should serve them. Literature and the arts are not exceptions. By depicting the proud struggle of the working people for building a new society, they should arouse them actively to the cause of nation building and should faithfully serve them.

At present our writers and artists fail to produce many works which delineate the struggle of the working people, who have turned out to accomplish the cause of nation building. Their works are at a very low level of artistic representation. Many of them are only bent on producing works on historical themes, and are hardly interested in handling the burning, contemporary realities as their themes. It is true that historical themes are also necessary, but it is of still greater importance to produce works reflecting the pulsating realities of today.

In a short period of slightly more than four years, our people under the wise leadership of the Party have achieved great success in building the nation since liberation.

By establishing a people's government for themselves and triumphantly carrying out democratic reforms, our people set up a progressive system of people's democracy firmly in north Korea and laid a solid democratic base for the country's reunification and independence.

In September last year, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was established, a genuine people's power, with the participation of all the people in north and south Korea. With the establishment of the Republic, our people became proud citizens of a sovereign state, for the first time in their history, and are now in a position to intensify the struggle for the reunification and independence of the country as well as building up a new society under the banner of the Republic.

Today all the people, with a sense of unbounded pride and self-respect as citizens of the Republic deep down in their hearts, are making every effort for the prosperity and development of the Republic.

Our workers are making vigorous endeavours to fulfil the Two-Year National Economic Plan ahead of schedule. The workers in the iron industry have restored completely blast furnace No. 1 of the Hwanghae Iron Works and coking oven No. 2 of the Chongjin Iron Works by bravely overcoming the difficulties and hardships that lay ahead of them. Thus large quantities of iron and coke are being produced. The workers in the machine-building industry pooled in their wisdom and strength in advancing new ideas and proposals and introduced advanced technical skills, thus constantly increasing productivity of labour.

Peasants who are now masters of their land are making patriotic endeavours to increase grain output. Model peasants including Kim Je Won in Jaeryong County, Hwanghae Province, continue to raise grain yields by improving the soil and introducing advanced methods of farming. In doing their farm work well and

gathering a rich harvest every year, our peasants have solved the country's food problem.

Through the devoted and laborious endeavours of our people, the Two-Year National Economic Plan is being carried out successfully and the democratic base of the northern half of Korea is consolidated further.

Many innovators of labour are emerging amidst the solemn struggle to build a new society. Their great services will be remembered long by generations to come.

The life of the people, pulsating with the efforts for carrying out the Two-Year National Economic Plan ahead of time and building a new society, provides in itself a canvas of epic. Writers and artists should depict such heroic efforts of our working people proficiently in novels and stories, poems, films, plays, dances, fine arts and various other kinds of literary and art works.

What needs attention in works of literature and art, portraying the endeavours of the working people, is to give a good artistic representation to their noble spiritual and moral features. Writers and artists should depict the beautiful and noble spiritual and moral traits of the working people well. The patriotic zeal and mass heroism displayed by them, and the feelings of honour and pride as working people cherished by them deep in their hearts, their ardour for increasing production and their revolutionary comradeship should find expression. In other words, they should explain through the medium of artistic representation the motivating power of the great social and economic changes taking place in our country. This is essential for works of literature and art to fulfil their mission as effective means of political and ideological education by teaching the working people and arousing them in their effort to build a new society.

Secondly, writers and artists should produce a large number of works that portray the people in the southern half struggling for social democracy and national reunification.

At present people in the south are fighting dauntlessly against the US imperialists and their stooges for the right to live, for the cause

of democracy, territorial integrity and national reunification. After the establishment of the Republic, in particular, their anti-US save-the-nation struggle has undergone a change. Looking upon the northern half of Korea as the beacon of hope, the patriotic youth and people of south Korea have taken up arms and are waging guerrilla warfare everywhere, thus dealing a heavy blow to the enemy. They are fighting courageously without being afraid of prisons and the gallows; in their dying moments, they shout slogans like, "Long live the complete independence and sovereignty of Korea!" and "Long live the Democratic People's Republic of Korea!"

The righteous national-salvation struggle of the people in the southern half for the reunification and territorial integrity of the country will serve as an excellent subject for literature and art. It is the solemn duty of the writers and artists to produce works depicting their struggle.

Through numerous works representing this struggle, writers and artists should give a strong impetus to the struggle of the people in the south, inspire our people with a greater love of the country and hatred for the enemy. It would induce all the people to aid and support actively the struggle of their brothers in the south.

An important thing that must be emphasized in this respect is to represent profoundly the patriotic spirit of the south Korean people who love their country and nation warmly. The heroic struggle waged by them at the cost of their blood is an expression of their unanimous desire to crush the US imperialists and their lackeys, and enjoy a happy life together with their brothers in the north under the care of the DPRK. It is also a manifestation of their burning patriotism.

Robbed of their country by the Japanese imperialists in the past, our people lived the bitter life of a ruined people for 36 years, which cut deep into their hearts. That is why the people in the southern half are fighting bravely against the US imperialist aggressors. They do not want to revert to the life of colonial slaves.

Writers and artists should portray vividly the selfless struggle of the people in the south for the country. It should be seen that both ideological content and artistic expression are maintained.

Another important thing to be kept in mind is to inspire the people with a burning hatred against US imperialism, by exposing its true nature and its acts as an aggressor.

US imperialism is the most heinous enemy of our people. For over a hundred years the US imperialists, with a wild desire to invade our country, had carried on their aggressive activities. After liberation, they occupied the southern half of our country in place of the Japanese imperialists and have since then been making every attempt to turn the Korean people into their colonial slaves for ever. Taking advantage of fascist colonial rule over the southern half, the US imperialists are now plundering the people of their treasures and property, arresting, imprisoning and murdering numerous patriots and innocent people at random.

In their works the writers and artists should plainly expose the fact that the US imperialists are the craftiest and most ruthless plunderers and most cruel murderers. This should prevent the people from having the slightest illusions about, or pinning hopes on, US imperialism and encourage them to fight against it with determination.

While disclosing the aggressive acts committed by the US imperialists, they should at the same time acquaint the people clearly with the traitorous activities of their faithful minions, the Syngman Rhee clique.

Yet another matter that must receive attention in the handling of the struggle of the south Korean people on a literary and artistic level is to inspire the people with a firm confidence in the victory of their cause.

The enemy of the people in the south today is US imperialism, the chief imperialism. The south Korean people may encounter many difficulties in their future struggle to drive out US imperialism and reunify the country.

The writers and artists must show convincingly in their works that if the patriotic people from all walks of life in the southern half form a strong, anti-US, national-salvation united front and fight to the

bitter end by concerted efforts, nothing will stop them from emerging victorious.

By using various literary and artistic means to expose fully the bane of bourgeois ideology spread by the US imperialists and the reactionary and corrupting nature of the American way of life, the writers and artists should awaken the people politically and ideologically.

Thirdly, writers and artists should deal more with the People's Army which is the genuine people's armed forces in their works. Producing numerous works which deal with the People's Army is of great importance in educating the soldiers and working people and increasing the fighting power of its soldiers. Particularly, the tense situation prevailing in our country now calls for the production of more such literary and artistic works. Therefore, writers and artists should pay due attention to them.

What is important in this connection is to depict well the superiority of the People's Army.

Our People's Army directly carries on the glorious revolutionary traditions, built up during the anti-Japanese armed struggle. It is an army truly of the people, consisting of the best sons and daughters of the workers, peasants and other sections of the working people, along with veteran anti-Japanese guerrillas as its backbone.

The armed forces of the imperialist states defend the exploiting system for the tiny privileged classes, and suppress and exploit the working people who make up the overwhelming majority of the population, along with invading other countries. Unlike them, the mission of our People's Army is to defend the country and the people against the invasion of the enemy and protect the system of people's democracy and the achievements of democratic construction. The writers and artists should depict the superiority of the People's Army to the armed forces of imperialist states well in their works.

It is also important to show the noble fighting spirit of the soldiers of the People's Army.

As you all know, our People's Army, though young, is fighting devotedly to defend the security of the country and the lives and property of the people. The soldiers of the Security Forces have foiled all provocative attacks by the enemy, displaying mass heroism and a self-sacrificing spirit in battles along the 38th parallel, including the battles on Kosan Hill, Mts. Songak and Unpha, and Kuksa Hill. They are defending every inch of our land with their blood. They have eliminated the Paekgol Unit and Horim Unit of the puppet army which had invaded certain territories of the northern half of Korea, killing innocent people and indulging in loot and demolition. This illustrates the noble fighting spirit and boundless fidelity to the country and the people of the soldiers of our Security Forces, who have inherited the revolutionary traditions set during the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

If writers and artists depict the great fighting spirit of the soldiers in their works, these will imbue the soldiers with courage and confidence in victory, contributing greatly to inspiring them to further military feats.

Creative works should also illustrate well the noble tradition of amicable relations between officers and men as well as between soldiers and civilians.

The soldiers of the People's Army are sons and daughters of the workers and peasants, who have taken up arms voluntarily in order to defend the country and the people. Therefore, the officers and men of the People's Army are all revolutionary comrades and fellow soldiers. So their relations are always permeated with militant friendship and warm revolutionary comradeship. The officers look after their men with warm comradely love, and the men respect and love the officers from the bottom of their hearts. This is a laudable quality characteristic to our People's Army.

The kinship of the People's Army with the people is now stronger than ever before. The soldiers defend the people's lives and property with their own lives, and the latter love the soldiers as their own flesh and blood and help them as best they can.

In their works, the writers and artists should depict in depth such wonderful traditions of noble solidarity between officers and men and between the army and the people. This will be a positive contribution to further increasing the fighting capacity of the People's Army and strengthening the kinship of the army with the people.

In order to fulfil their heavy responsibility satisfactorily, the writers and artists should acquaint themselves well with Party line and policy.

This is essential for them to be able to analyse and judge all matters and phenomena correctly in political terms and suit their creative activities well to the political requirements of the Party.

Writers and artists should intensify the studies of Party line and policy to equip themselves firmly with its ideology. They should broaden their political horizon constantly.

They should improve their creative skills. However high their patriotic zeal may be, they will not be able to produce works good enough to meet the requirements of the Party and the people, if they are qualitatively poor. So, they should improve their skills decisively by acquiring extensive knowledge on everything—politics, the economy, culture and military, and by making an intensive study of literature and the arts.

Delving deep into realities is an important method for the writers and artists to produce works of good quality. By maintaining a close contact with current events, making a detailed study of the life of the masses—the workers, peasants and soldiers, and personally acknowledging more of the pulsating realities, they should be able to produce impressive works that strike a sympathetic chord in the hearts of the masses, that are beloved by the masses.

I am convinced that writers and artists, working along the lines I have mentioned, will produce many good works from next year and thus contribute actively to educating the masses and the cause of nation building.

OUR ART SHOULD BE CONDUCIVE TO EARLY VICTORY IN THE WAR (24 Dec 1950)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1981), 6.188–96.

I am satisfied very much with the fact that our writers, artists and scientists have climbed mountains and crossed rivers to come here in retreat, following the Party. I am very glad to meet you now. I have been anxious to see you all the time.

On this occasion I would like to talk to you briefly about the tasks before you.

At present the situation at the front is very encouraging. As I said here, at the Third Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee a few days ago, radical changes are taking place at the front and the situation is turning in our favour.

With the evil intention of turning Korea into a permanent colony, the US imperialist aggressors launched a general offensive, by mobilizing all their forces on the Pacific along with the Mediterranean Fleet. But they have been defeated again and again by the fresh advance of our People's Army.

The People's Army which had made a strategic retreat for some time took the counteroffensive after regrouping its forces and reinforcing itself. Now our heroic People's Army is advancing, with an irresistible force, to south of the 38th Parallel in hot pursuit of the fleeing enemy, destroying large numbers of them. Thunderstruck by the new advance of our army, the US imperialist aggressors are trying desperately to make a last-ditch stand.

These aggressors had bragged that they would "conquer" our country before "Christmas," but their wild dream was blown up and the myth of American "might" shattered by the valiant People's Army. This enhanced the position and prestige of our Republic internationally, at the same time seriously shaking the prestige of US imperialism.

The Korean people are sure to win the Fatherland Liberation War. We can say this with confidence.

We are fighting a just war. Our People's Army is defending its country and people, and our front and rear are closely linked with each other. Besides, our people are not alone in their struggle against the US imperialist aggressors. The peoples of fraternal countries are giving active material and moral support to the righteous struggle of our people.

However, we cannot depend only on aid from other countries to win the war. Victory depends wholly on the strength of our own people fighting the US imperialist aggressors. The reunification and independence of the country should be attained by the Korean people themselves as it is their cause. Nobody else can do this in our stead. No matter who may help and how, the question of our country must be settled by us Koreans themselves.

No frantic efforts with large armed forces on the part of the US imperialist aggressors can damp the indomitable spirit and heroic mettle of our people who have risen up for national reunification and independence. They will surely realize how great and inexhaustible the united strength of the Korean people is, and how indomitable the fighting spirit and aspiration of our people is, struggling for the freedom and independence of their country.

The Korean people, united rock-firm around the Workers' Party of Korea, are defying death in the fight against the aggression of the US imperialists. Their heroic struggle to smash the aggression and reunify the country serves as the banner of the national-liberation movement of the oppressed people all over the world against imperialist aggression.

Our Party and people have the brilliant revolutionary traditions of a long-drawn-out victorious armed struggle against the Japanese imperialist aggressors. These traditions are the most precious roots of our revolution. Since we inherited these revolutionary traditions, our people could establish the people's state power and build the democratic base with their own hands, after

liberation. Today they can visualize with confidence ultimate victory in the war, successfully repulsing the US imperialist aggression.

The most important task before our people at present is to render active assistance to the People's Army which continues to advance southward, annihilating the US imperialist aggressors.

The people at the home front should manufacture more weapons and ammunition to be used at the battle front. They should produce all they can so as to help in winning final victory.

Our writers and artists should also devote all their wisdom and ardour to this end.

Literature and art have a very great and important mission in the struggle to win the war. Writers and artists should more vigorously inspire our army and people towards victory in the war through their literary and art activities.

The pen is the weapon of writers. Writers should create many excellent works in order to inspire the people with confidence in victory, arouse them to a burning hatred for the US imperialist invaders and stir them up to fight the enemy heroically.

Writers should produce many works exposing the atrocities of the US imperialists in particular.

These imperialists are the most cunning, ferocious and foul savages of modern times. They are wolves who have massacred innumerable Koreans brutally. Writers and artists should give a vivid description of the slyness, cruelty, ferocity and savagery of the US imperialist wolves so that their misdeeds are laid bare to the world.

What they should keep in mind while bringing to light the crimes of the US imperialist aggressors is to go beyond the facts revealed in the Korean war. They should thoroughly expose before the Korean people and the rest of the world their aggressive and predatory nature and the long history of their bestiality. Only then can we rouse a strong feeling of hatred for the aggressors among our people and disillusion them about the United States.

Never before in their long history have the Korean people invaded even an inch of the US land or infringed on its sovereignty.

However, the US imperialists have long harboured plans of aggression against our country. They sent the pirate ship *General Sherman* to plunder our country. Since then they have carried out constant acts of aggression and plunder against the Korean people.

Not only have they tried through every vicious way and means to invade Korea but have also perpetrated bestial atrocities upon the Koreans. A wolfish American who had crept into Korea in the guise of a missionary, committed the thrice-cursed crime of burning the word "thief" onto the forehead of a Korean boy with hydrochloric acid just because he picked up an apple which had fallen from a tree in his orchard. This is widely known. Does it not make one's blood boil? This is precisely the wolfish nature of the US imperialist aggressors.

Writers and artists should thoroughly expose the aggressive and brutal nature of the US imperialists and lay bare their true colours as wolves in sheep's clothing, before our people and the rest of the world.

Even after liberation, they made every effort to enslave our people.

The US imperialist aggressors who occupied south Korea after liberation forcibly broke down the people's committees formed on the initiative of the people, suppressed the patriotic, democratic forces and arrested, imprisoned and slaughtered large numbers of patriots and people at random. Besides, they set up a puppet regime by force of arms, rejected the repeated proposals of the Government of the Republic for reunifying the country peacefully, and instigated the Syngman Rhee puppet clique to start a war of aggression against the northern half of Korea.

As they suffered an ignominious defeat at the beginning of the war, they reinforced themselves on a large scale to recover their losses and, at the same time, embarked on furthering their intervention by mobilizing the troops of 15 satellite countries under the signboard of "UN forces." The US imperialist air pirates bombed towns, villages, schools and hospitals indiscriminately and killed peaceful inhabitants mercilessly. In particular, during their temporary occupation of the

northern half of Korea, they brutally massacred our people—young and old, men and women. The horrors of the en masse killings by the enemy in every nook and corner of our country including Pyongyang and Sinchon are beyond description.

With no amount of deception can the US imperialist aggressors conceal or justify the outrages perpetrated by them, in gross violation of international law. Their savagery in Korea is the most disgraceful crime ever committed in the history of mankind. Our people will never forgive them for these crimes, but take revenge on them a thousand fold.

Fair-minded people all over the world are extremely indignant at the armed intervention of the US imperialist aggressors and the outrages committed by them in our country. They express their condemnation and hatred for them. On the other hand, they offer unconditional support and encouragement to the Korean people who are fighting heroically against the enemy.

We should lay bare the long history of their crimes, by citing concrete facts.

Writers and artists should bring to light through novel, drama, film, essay, caricature and other media that the US imperialists are wolves in the skin of a human being and that they are the sworn enemy of the Korean people.

A few days ago, an article written by one of our artists, appeared in the foreign press; it is a bitter and infuriating story, relating how ruthlessly the American imperialists killed the young daughter of a Korean artist. It evoked a great response all over the world. What does this mean? This means that the people of the world sympathize with us and hate the US imperialists.

At present the Japanese reactionaries, too, are looking for an opportunity to reinvade our country. They are heading for militarism and rearming themselves. We should not underestimate this danger but sharpen our vigilance. Through their creations, writers and artists should expose the atrocities of the Japanese militarists as well as the US imperialists.

At the same time, they should vigorously conduct the mission of widely publicizing the heroic struggle of our people.

They should also clearly convince the people that US imperialism is doomed to failure and we are sure to win. Only then can the people have a firm faith in victory and fight on bravely for final victory in the war, overcoming all difficulties and obstacles.

The US imperialist aggressors bragged that they would "conquer" Korea at a stroke, but are being steadily pushed back, while disclosing their vulnerability as the days go by. But they are getting more frantic in an attempt to recover their defeat. In the future, too, we may encounter great difficulties and obstacles. But we should be bold enough to overcome them, no matter what they are, and fight on more courageously for victory in the sacred, just cause.

Artists should be active in giving performances to inspire the People's Army and the people fighting valiantly at the front and in the rear.

Yesterday I saw a performance given by the artists. Its content is satisfactory, and they are good at playing and singing. If the soldiers and the people working in the background see such performances, they will feel more confident of victory. Your performance provides us with a fresh source of energy. Therefore, you should visit the front frequently with even better programmes so as to boost the morale of the soldiers.

Writers and artists should contribute to the struggle along with the valiant soldiers of the People's Army, who are fighting with arms in hand against the US imperialist aggressors at the front. Our art should be an art fighting together with the people, serving the country and helping towards accelerating victory in the war.

College teachers, scientists and technicians are also present here. So I would briefly enumerate their duties.

After winning the war our tasks ahead are innumerable. We will have to rehabilitate the damaged factories and enterprises and, at the same time, build many new ones and carry out our plan of socialist industrialization.

Needless to say, our situation today is very difficult and arduous. But, however unfavourable the conditions or numerous the hardships, it is out of the question to compare it with the past when we were engaged in the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

Although countless difficulties and obstacles stood in our way at that time, the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters hated the enemy intensely and were firmly resolved to liberate the country. Due to this they manufactured on their own various weapons including "Yongil" bombs even in the mountains where there was nothing available, and won the victory against the Japanese imperialist aggressors after fighting them for fifteen long years.

Today we have the Party, the people's government and the heroic people. If we all fight with firm faith in victory we shall be able to tide over all difficulties in our way and carry out any arduous jobs. It is most important for you to have an unshakable faith in victory.

Scientists and technicians should not just sit back and mourn the severe damages caused by the US imperialist aggressors to many factories and enterprises—fruits of our people's sweat and blood. They should devote all their wisdom and talents and all their efforts to winning the war. They should make the best use of existing conditions and explore every possible resource to produce ammunition, thus contributing their bit towards winning the war. At a time when the country passes through harsh trials, true patriots are those who are totally devoted to the heroic struggle to save the country.

College teachers, too, should not sit idle just because there are no students. They also have a great deal of work to do.

We need many technical personnel in order to undertake the large-scale reconstruction work after the war. Without solving the problem of technical personnel we can neither ensure rehabilitation nor socialist construction. As a result of colonial slave education forced by the Japanese imperialists, we had very few technicians and, still worse, many of them were killed in the war. Training technical personnel, therefore, is a very urgent task before us today. To solve

this problem we will have to send more students abroad to study and at the same time, open our own colleges quickly to train many technicians for ourselves. College teachers should settle down at an early date, arrange college buildings, prepare their courses of study along with other requisites like furniture and get hold of potential students.

In particular, great efforts should be made to solve the scarcity of teachers. This can be done by arranging for teachers training courses on a large scale.

Economists should contribute to drafting plans for the State Planning Commission and architects draw up blueprints for postwar rehabilitation. A plan should first be chalked out to reconstruct Pyongyang, the democratic capital, magnificently. The city should not be restored to its prewar state but rebuilt as a beautiful, magnificent, modern city. All this should be kept in mind while drawing up a blueprint for the city and starting preparations for this work.

Sound preparations should be made well in advance to restore the damaged factories and enterprises including the Hungnam Fertilizer Factory. It is necessary to conduct a detailed survey regarding the damages and then work out scrupulous plans to rebuild them in phases. Surveys should be made elaborately. Questions like finding out damages to specific parts of machines and necessary repairs and the degree of damages to buildings and method of reconstruction should be tackled. At the same time, technical drawings for rebuilding factories and enterprises should be prepared beforehand. Factories, too, should not be restored to their original state but reconstructed and expanded on the basis of the latest advances in science and technology.

In carrying out postwar reconstruction we might accept aid from the peoples of fraternal countries. But we must not just sit and hope for outside help without any preparations of our own. The masters of the Korean revolution are the Korean people themselves. So we should display a high revolutionary spirit of self-reliance with

which to solve by our own efforts all problems arising in the revolution and construction of our country.

On your return, you should clearly inform others of the Party's purpose and policies, so that they all turn out vigorously to aid the front to win the war and start preparatory work for reconstruction.

Writers, artists and scientists should live in a revolutionary way to serve the Party and the revolution in better faith, work enthusiastically and set an example in all aspects, always taking high pride in being revolutionaries. The more difficult and complicated the war becomes, the harder you should study to fortify yourselves with our Party policy.

At present, you have a hard time in remote mountain villages where conditions are poor. There may be more hardships than at present in the course of our revolutionary struggle. If we are to emerge victorious in the revolution we should break through difficulties. In this course, people are tempered and emerge as revolutionaries.

I firmly believe that our writers, artists and scientists will devote themselves to the struggle in order to carry out their noble mission creditably.

ON SOME QUESTIONS ARISING IN OUR LITERATURE AND ART (30 June 1951)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1981), 6.339–45.

Writers and artists,

Our writers and artists are entrusted with very important tasks today when the Korean people are fighting a sacred war of liberation against the US imperialist aggressors in defence of the freedom and independence of the country. As engineers of the human soul, they should vividly reflect in their works our people's lofty patriotism and staunch fighting spirit and their unshakable conviction in final victory. They should see that their works serve our fighting people as a powerful weapon and as a great inspiration spurring them to ultimate victory.

Since liberation there has been rapid progress in our literature and art and our writers and artists have scored brilliant achievements.

But we must not rest content with past achievements. We must remember that our writers and artists have many shortcomings in their work. They have failed to reflect the noble ideas and sentiments of the people and their life and work on a high artistic plane. Their creative activities have lost touch with life and are lagging behind our rapidly advancing realities. Our writers and artists have failed to portray vividly, on a high level of representation and artistic form, men and women engaged in the creation of a new life. They have failed to produce excellent literary and art works in a large number that can be made textbooks of life. They still do not skilfully depict our people's creative labour and heroic struggle. They fail to reflect well the criticism and hatred of things old and the love of and longing for the new.

Many literary and art works have been produced by our writers and artists during the Fatherland Liberation War, but, in terms

of both ideological content and artistic quality, it cannot be said that they are worthy of our heroic people.

Availing myself of this opportunity at our small gathering today, I would like to speak to you writers and artists on some important problems in our literature and art.

Our writers and artists must reflect our people's lofty patriotism in their works. Patriotism stems only from a good knowledge of the past of one's country and of the fine traditions, culture and customs of one's nation. Patriotism is not an abstract concept, but is boundless love for the land, history and culture of one's country. It is manifested also in attachment to one's native place and its people, affection for one's parents, wife and children. Patriotism takes concrete forms and finds concrete expression in human feelings.

Writers and artists should therefore present the lofty patriotism of our people concretely and profoundly through the thoughts, feelings and lives of real people, instead of filling their works with abstract and dry slogans. Only then will the patriotism represented in their works be concrete and true to life.

Never before in their history have the Korean people displayed such lofty patriotism as today. At the front and in the rear, in town and country, our people are displaying patriotic devotion unimaginable in the past.

This shows that our people are deeply concerned about the fate of their country and that they are fully conscious of their historical mission. It also shows that our people, breaking through the limits of narrow nationalism, have become profoundly aware of their position and stand from the viewpoint of world history.

The Korean people of today are different from what they were under Japanese imperialist rule, or from what they were in the feudal era of the Ri dynasty.

Literary and art works must mirror this great change in our nation's history.

Narrow nationalist or chauvinist sentiments are alien to lofty patriotism and national pride, which find genuine expression only

when these remnants of outdated ideologies are totally eliminated. It goes without saying, therefore, that our patriotism must be combined with the thorough internationalist spirit which allows no vestige of nationalism and chauvinism.

Further, writers and artists must portray the heroism and fortitude of our People's Army. Though young, our People's Army has accumulated incomparably rich combat experience. In the course of the first offensive our army learned how to wage offensive action to defeat the enemy, and during the strategic retreat it learned how to regroup its ranks in the face of a strong enemy and how to prepare its combat forces for a fresh offensive. Our army has thus become strengthened and grown into a full-fledged modern army.

The heroism of the People's Army is found in its mass heroism, not in the heroism of a few individual soldiers. Innumerable acts of heroism and courage in battle are graphic evidence that our men and officers are fully conscious of their sacred duty to the country and the people and that they are fulfilling it magnificently.

Writers and artists must portray the countless heroes who have sprung from the people. There are some who take pains to seek novelty or a legendary figure in order, they claim, to portray heroes. Such an attitude in creative work makes it impossible to depict our heroes truthfully. Our heroes are yesterday's workers, peasants, office workers and students, and their children. Describe their deep feelings and human traits, their lofty ideas and convictions and their unaffected, simple behaviour as they are, and you will have caught the image of the heroes of our Republic today.

In this respect, too, you must not proceed from an abstract concept but from concrete reality. Remember that abstraction means death to art.

It is to be regretted that among our writers there are those who, not acquainted with the qualities of a hero and without making a detailed study of him, try to portray him after hearing his brief personal history. This not only debases the hero himself but shows intolerable disdain for our readers.

Our writers must always remember that their works go into the hands of the people. They must bear in mind that people read their works not as a better means of killing time than taking a nap but to acquire a deeper understanding of life, to learn something from the lofty spirit of ordinary people who serve the country and the people devotedly and to increase their confidence in the happy future of mankind.

Our literary and art works must not only represent the struggle of heroes at the front but also the struggle of our people who have fought heroically in the rear and in enemy-occupied areas.

Writers and artists must produce works which will help our People's Army men and all the people strengthen their confidence in victory. One's conviction of victory becomes real and acquires great force only when one knows one's strength and conditions well and is able to estimate the enemy's strength and situation correctly. Our writers and artists, while portraying the indestructible superiority of our social system and the inexhaustible strength of our people, their unity and high ideological level and so on, should also give a clear picture of the enemy's fatal weak points and his situation. It is important here to describe on a high artistic plane that the war we are waging now is a just war—a war for the freedom and independence of the country and the happiness of all generations to come.

Also, our writers and artists should arouse burning hatred for the enemy through their works. Here the question arises as to how to depict the enemy. Our writers paint the US imperialist aggressors as cunning. That is right, of course. It must be remembered, however, that not only are they cunning, they are also the most heinous and foul barbarians of modern times. The US imperialists have shown their true features in all their ugliness in Korea.

The US robbers have reduced our towns and villages to ashes and are massacring our people. American missionaries who once presented themselves as "apostles of God" in Korea are now assembling pregnant women by the score and shooting them down en masse with carbines and running over children with tanks. The "gentlemen of Wall Street," who used to boast arrogantly to the world

of the "Goddess of Liberty," now strip Korean girls naked and carry their oil in cars and tanks, perpetrating outrages and atrocities against them which surpass all human imagination.

The barbarities of the US imperialists in Korea are the most heinous crime against humanity and an indescribable insult to posterity. They will arouse the wrath and curse of the people of the world for all ages to come. We must thoroughly expose the crimes of the US bandits to the people of the world and teach our people to hate them.

Writers and artists should not only expose these barbarities but also bring out in their works the evil of the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique.

But mere description of the enemy's atrocities does not in itself mean realistic art, nor do works of this sort always invoke hostility against the enemy. It is to be regretted that the naturalistic technique still finds glaring expression in the works of our writers and artists. Without thoroughly rectifying such a tendency, it is impossible to advance our literature and art in a wholesome direction.

Writers and artists should know that the real creator of great art is always the people. No excellent work of art ever fails to command the people's love, and if a work of art is not understood and appreciated by the people, it cannot be excellent. Our writers and artists must delve deeply into the life of the people. They must study the people's literature, folk tales, folk songs, etc., and make extensive use of them in their creative activities. But not all folk songs are good, and not all folk tales are worth using.

Here a question arises as to what we should inherit from the past and how we should use it. From the literature and art of the past we must take over and develop those things that are genuinely of the people and cast aside whatever is unscientific and vulgar.

There are people who think that inheriting national culture means singing all the old folk songs as they were sung in the past, but that is wrong. Such a tendency runs counter to the basic line for the development of our national culture. We must preserve the fine features peculiar to our nation in folk song, music, dance and other

spheres, but, at the same time, create new rhythms, new melodies and new rhythmic forms demanded by the new life and learn to put new content in the rich, varied artistic forms created by our people.

While taking over and developing our own literary and art heritage, we should study that which is excellent and progressive in the literature and art of the Soviet Union, China and other People's Democracies, thereby enriching our national culture still further.

Our literature and art do not present the Soviet Union satisfactorily as the bulwark of world peace and the Soviet people as an eternal friend of our people. They give an incomplete picture of the Chinese People's Volunteers, who are valiantly fighting shoulder to shoulder with the Korean People's Army, and poorly represent the peoples of the People's Democracies who are giving us internationalist support and encouragement.

Our Korean writers and artists must produce many works of high artistic quality on these subjects, so that they strike terror into the hearts of the aggressors and warmongers and give songs of warm friendship to peace-loving people the world over.

Our writers and artists should practise lively criticism and self-criticism on their creative activities. Works revealing either a formalistic trend or cosmopolitan element have also appeared in our literature and art since liberation. Yet, literary and art criticism still remains backward.

Stagnation and backwardness in this sphere must be overcome if creative work is to go forward. It goes without saying that we cannot expect literature and art to develop soundly if there is no criticism. Needless to say, however, criticism should not proceed along the lines of "Let's smash up," but should be constructive in every sense.

Some critics still have the tendency to "knock down" authors and their works; instead of giving them advice and assistance and indicating to them the right path for their creative work. This sort of criticism is not the literary criticism we are calling for.

The critics should be thoroughgoing and sharp in their criticism and, at the same time, their criticism should be permeated

with the comradely spirit of mutual help and cooperation so that they correct defects along with the authors, produce better results and contribute to our treasure house of culture. Committing errors in creative work is nothing to be feared. Writers may make mistakes and their works may reveal defects. What is to be feared most is that the defects are not corrected and that they are connived at.

Not only should the unity of writers and critics be strengthened, but also the unity of all the creative teams in the literary and art world. An implacable struggle must be fought against any and every sectarian act and tendency that impedes the implementation of the Party's policies on literature and art and weakens the unity of the literary and art world. Dear writers and artists, you have the glorious task of introducing our people's heroic struggle to the world and handing it down to posterity through your creative activities. More than ever, our people are showing a keen interest in your work.

Art demanded by a heroic people must naturally be heroic, and the art demanded by a people that has entered the world arena must naturally rise to world levels. The people expect you to work heart and soul to create such literature and art.

You are glorious soldiers on the literary and art front. How can a writer create patriotic works if he is not an ardent patriot, and how can an artist create art for the people if he has no love for the people?

Outstanding world writers and artists were great patriots and great champions of a happy life for the people. So, they have the love and respect of all people down the ages and are the pride of mankind.

Today, the Korean people are valiantly marching to final victory in the Fatherland Liberation War, overcoming all difficulties and ordeals. I firmly believe that you writers and artists, the best sons and daughters of our heroic people, will emerge on the world scene through great works of art and will make our glorious era shine for all generations to come.

TO RAISE OUR ART TO A HIGHER LEVEL (12 Dec 1951)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1981), 6.443–47.

Dear Comrades,

I would like to extend a warm welcome to you members of our national art troupe back home after a successful performance at the World Art Festival of Youth and Students in Berlin as well as in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies.

The performance of our actors and actresses is highly significant. It has contributed greatly to strengthening the ties of friendship between the people of Korea and those of many other countries.

For the first time an extensive public in Berlin and in the People's Democracies were able to see the art of our new Korea. They heard for themselves the vibrant voice of Korean people, heroically defending the freedom and independence of their country against US imperialist invasion.

In countries far away from home, our troupe of artists was enthusiastically welcomed by the people. This demonstrates their sympathy for the fighting people of Korea and shows the increasing international prestige of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

The Korean people are not only industrious and brave in the face of the enemy; they are also highly endowed with artistic talents. We have achieved brilliant successes in the sphere of art.

You had the honour of presenting to the entire world the artistic achievements of our young Republic.

With attention from the Party and the Government, music, dance, drama and other areas of our art have developed rapidly since liberation and have been popularized widely among broad sections of the people.

During their recent tour abroad, our artists presented an excellent and varied programme including songs that won for Korean art recognition and acclaim. This is indeed gratifying.

But we must not be content with such success. We must try harder to raise the art of our country to a higher plane. Workers in the field of art should strive to make our art an art of the people, national in form and democratic in content. They should make it an art which fully meets international standards, recognized for its ardent internationalist spirit, profound ideological content and high artistic quality.

Art must strike deep roots in the masses. Composers, playwrights, musicians, dancers and actors have to study the lives of the people with care. They should use the national classics and popular songs created by the people as much as possible in their creative activity, since these represent the true sentiments and aspirations of the people.

In all their performances, actors should portray the people's emotions, reflect the popular spirit and vividly express popular melodies. We should also actively develop our classical music and continue to improve our traditional musical instruments. This is the only way our art will reflect the national characteristics of the Korean people.

We cannot, however, let ourselves revert to restorationism, that is, glorify everything from the past and idealize obsolete artistic forms on the grounds that we should resurrect and develop national classics and national art. Our critical use of old art forms should be commensurate with contemporary standards.

Times have changed. The conditions of our people, their manners, customs and moral characteristics have also changed.

Art must always truthfully reflect the people's real life and struggle. It cannot ask the people to move backward; it must impel them forward towards a happier future. Only art of this kind is really people's art.

True, our art must give full expression to national characteristics; but that does not mean that it should remain within narrow national limits. Our art workers have to bear this in mind.

Our struggle is supported by the friendly peoples of the democratic camp, and we are marching along in solidarity with lovers of peace the world over. So our art should sing the song of friendship among nations; it should educate our people in the spirit of internationalism. In order to develop national art, it is important to draw on our legacy from the past. But we should also study the art of the peoples of the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries in order to learn about their excellent achievements. This will both enrich our art and strengthen friendly ties among nations.

Formalism is a serious obstacle to the development of our art. Some of our composers, men of fine arts, playwrights and actors are not yet completely free from this evil. There are actors and actresses, for example, who emphasize form in their performance to such an extent that they fail to express profoundly the essential content of a play and misrepresent the ideas and feelings of the heroes.

This formalism must be eliminated once and for all. It separates form from content, subordinating the latter to the former. Thus, formalism not only debases the ideological content of art but also damages its artistic value.

We have competent, veteran artists as well as many new talented ones. These young artists are the promising shoots we must tenderly care for and nurture. The future belongs to the youth. We should devote time and effort to fostering our new artists; we should promote them boldly.

The great Lenin said: “We must carefully study the feeble new shoots, we must devote the greatest attention to them, do everything to promote their growth and ‘nurse’ them.” Artists especially should remember Lenin’s words.

In order to raise our art to a higher level, it is paramount that art workers raise their own political and ideological level.

Anyone who fails to appreciate our actual situation and who does not clearly understand our people’s activities or goals cannot

faithfully depict their lives. Neither can they create works of art with ennobling ideological content.

Our new democratic art must have profound ideological content and must serve the people as a weapon of struggle. High ideological quality combined with great artistic value is the only valid standard for judging a work of art. Consequently artists, like workers in all other spheres, must tirelessly study to raise their ideological and political level.

Dear comrades, undoubtedly you learned a great deal and acquired valuable experience during your recent foreign tour. You have seen the advanced art of many countries. I imagine that your ideas about the perspectives for our national artistic development are, therefore, much clearer.

You now have the honourable task of raising our art to a new, higher plane.

I am confident that you will bring joy to our people and satisfy their demands with fresh achievements. I wish you greater success in your work.

ON STRENGTHENING PARTY POLITICAL EDUCATION AND MASS CULTURAL WORK IN THE COUNTRYSIDE (28 June 1952)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1981), 7.253–62.

Some time ago we guided the work of North Phyongan Province on the spot. During the guidance period, we attended meetings of factory and rural Party cells and talked to many Party members.

Needless to say, it is difficult to estimate the work of all Party cells upon the guidance of a few Party cells. But, we gave guidance to the work of many Party cells in South Phyongan Province in the past years. We can, therefore, make a rough assessment of the work of the Party cells as a whole even if we guided just a few of them this time.

Having attended these Party cell meetings and talked with Party members during our recent visit to North Phyongan Province, we got the impression that Party cells, the basic organizations of our Party, are developing soundly now and are making vigorous efforts to carry out the Party line and policy. The sound development of a Party cell presupposes the building of its hard core, and the Party cells have quite a few hard-core elements at present. In most of the cells now, members who joined the Party before the war are playing the role of the nuclei. Though poor in speech and at a low intellectual level, they understand the Party line and policy correctly and strive for their implementation. Generally speaking, they correctly organize and run Party cell meetings and analyse and deal with the problems raised.

One of the Party cell meetings we attended this time was presided over by a woman comrade who accurately analysed and dealt with the problems raised at the meeting. All the Party members who took the floor, too, had a correct knowledge of our Party and strongly resolved to fight to the last for the Party and the revolution,

taking it as the highest honour to have become members of the Workers' Party of Korea.

We attended the meeting of a Party cell which was said to be the most backward in Kusong County, but, there too, I found that all the members who took part in the debate correctly understood and actively supported the Party line and policy and tried to find ways for carrying them out in the right direction.

All this shows that our Party cells are advancing soundly and the Party's policy of training the hard core of the cells is being fulfilled.

In spite of these successes, our Party cells face quite a few shortcomings in their work.

They are not militant enough and the political and ideological level of the Party members is low. In conducting their meetings, the Party cells stick to unnecessary formalities and fail to use diverse methods to make them instructive.

A Party meeting should be a school which tempers the Party spirit of the members, unites them in ideology and purpose, and educates them politically. But, because they are not run properly, Party cell meetings cannot fulfil their role as political schools for educating and training Party members.

At these meetings problems are discussed rather perfunctorily. By its nature, a Party meeting must discuss in detail the measures and ways and means to solve the problems raised and decide on appropriate assignments. Suppose a rural Party cell meeting discusses how to make the immediate farm work a success. It must discuss this in detail before adopting relevant measures and assigning specific tasks; it should consider how to produce compost, when to conduct inter-row cultivation and weeding, how to secure irrigation water, how to make up for deficiency in manpower and draught animals, which Party member to undertake mass political motivation work and how, and which Party member to help such and such person. But at present Party cell meetings do not discuss things this way.

Recently we attended a factory Party cell meeting and a village one; the former discussed the problem of guaranteeing wartime production and the latter the problem of ensuring inter-row cultivation and weeding. At the factory Party cell meeting they only made speeches shouting slogans such as: I support Party policy and let us not make goods which are rejected. But there were no specific discussion and constructive suggestion on appropriate measures. At the village cell meeting they did not have specific debate either, only shouting slogans on the inter-row cultivation and weeding to be wound up by such and such a time. As a result, the Party cell meetings gave an impression of rallies to rouse people to action.

More serious is that Party cell meetings are not held in a militant and revolutionary atmosphere.

We are now engaged in a grim war against all hues of class enemies, including US imperialism, the chieftain of world reaction. At the front, fierce battles are going on between friend and foe, and, in the rear, spies and subverters are carrying on insidious maneuvers. In spite of this, most of the speakers at the Party cell meetings we attended did not say a word about the need to intensify the struggle against the class enemies by working and living in an intense atmosphere and sharpening revolutionary vigilance; they only stressed the necessity to strengthen the united front. They think as if the struggle against the class enemies should be conducted only by public security personnel and interior servicemen and that all they have to do is to carry out production. Due to the lack of class awareness, Party members fail to promptly uncover the hidden maneuvers of the class enemy and strongly combat saboteurs and loafers. The appearance of pacifist inclinations among them means that Party organizations have not given them proper class education.

In short, at present, the work level of Party cells is not high, nor is the political and ideological level of their members. In particular, the work level of rural Party cells is lower than that of factory Party cells, and the political and ideological qualifications of Party members in the countryside are poorer than those of their counterparts in factories.

The low political and ideological level of rural Party cell members is due to the fact that the best members in the rural areas were mobilized for the front and large numbers of politically immature people have joined the Party ranks since the Fourth Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee. But the main reason for this is that Party organizations have neglected political and ideological education. They have not given this education regularly to rural Party cell members nor arranged Party study sessions properly. It is, therefore, inevitable that their political and ideological qualifications are poor.

The improvement of the qualifications of rural Party cell members and peasants is a matter of pressing urgency today.

The just Fatherland Liberation War has been going on for two years and is expected to continue for a long time. The protraction of the war is causing many hardships at the front and in the rear, and aggravating the class struggle at home. In order to overcome the difficulties and win the war, we must further reinforce the countryside. Therefore, we must improve Party political education and mass cultural work in the countryside. Only then will it be possible to raise the political and ideological level of rural Party cell members and peasants and reinforce our rural positions, and forcefully conduct a campaign to increase the wartime production of grain and the work for the aid to the front. All Party organizations should correctly understand that the strengthening of the countryside at present is a very important matter related to victory in the war. They, therefore, should decidedly improve Party political education and mass cultural work in rural areas.

On what should we put stress in conducting Party political education and mass cultural work in the countryside? In the present conditions when the fierce Fatherland Liberation War is going on, we should put stress on inspiring Party members and non-Party people to strive for final victory in the war, with intense loyalty to the Party, a strong will to brave any obstacles and difficulties, a firm conviction in our victory in the war, and a noble internationalist spirit. Party organizations at different levels should lay emphasis on this and

organize brisk Party political education and mass cultural activities in the countryside.

First, the educational network of Party members in rural areas should be conducted regularly, and oral information and motivation work carried on actively among Party members and the masses of people.

When a new Party policy is put forward, Party organizations should quickly hold short courses for Party members to acquaint them with it. At the same time, study sessions of Party cells should be put on a normal basis and their quality improved. These sessions must be conducted in coordination with lectures, talks, and discussions, to suit Party members' qualifications and political awareness. In the countryside Party study sessions were not held in farm seasons, with the result that the progress of study is retarded considerably. Measures should therefore be taken to fill the gap in lectures. It is better to reorganize improper study networks of Party members to suit the actual conditions in rural areas.

If you are to hold study sessions of Party cells on a high ideological level, you should build the ranks of lecturers and raise their political and theoretical level.

Because of poor qualifications of the lecturers, Party cell study sessions are held merely for form's sake at present. Quite a few lecturers dictate mechanically to Party members the lecture texts given at lecturers' short training courses, which the lecturers themselves do not understand. Therefore, Party members do not grasp the lectures though they do attend Party cell study sessions.

Party organizations should examine all the lecturers and replace those who are not politically and theoretically equipped with teachers and self-studying Party members possessing a strong Party spirit and some amount of political and theoretical preparedness. After building their ranks, you should settle them as lecturers and raise their level systematically. For the lecturers, you should regularly organize short-term political and professional training courses and meetings for exchanging experience. You should help them make thorough preparations for the guidance of studies. Whenever a new

subject is studied, you should organize model lectures, reviews of their texts, and classwork inspections to imbue the lecturers with the essence of the subject and teach them how to guide studies. The Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee should compile good texts for lecturers.

Inner-Party and public lecture meetings should be held regularly for the Party members and the masses of people in rural areas, and explanatory talks should be given on an extensive scale. You must see to it that competent officials take the floor at the lecture meetings.

Next, the means and personnel for information and motivation work must concentrate on Party political education and mass cultural work for Party members and people in the countryside. Senior officials of provincial, city and county Party organizations should pay close attention to such work.

Quite a few senior officials are not interested in the education of rural Party members and the masses of the people. Some of them do not organize and guide this work themselves, leaving it entirely to the officials of information and publicity departments, neither do they take the floor at lecture meetings, political report meetings and short training courses out in rural areas.

They must rid themselves of these practices quickly; they themselves should organize and guide the work of educating rural Party members and other people, and make speeches frequently at lecture meetings, political report meetings and short training courses. In particular, they should exert themselves to confirm rural Party activists and give them political and ideological education.

In rural areas at present there are many Party members who were trained and tested during the period of democratic construction and the grim days of the temporary retreat. Among new Party members too, there are many good women. They carry out their tasks zealously, but their political and ideological qualifications are so poor that they do not know how to educate, encourage and inspire the masses of people and are unable to sharply analyse and deal politically with the problems raised. Only when the political

education of the nuclei of rural Party cells is intensified and their political and ideological level elevated, would it be possible to reinforce the cells and, through them, go on educating new Party members and the masses of people.

Senior officials of county Party organizations should educate the hard-core elements of rural Party cells purposefully. They should go down to these cells in a planned way and attend their meetings to give effective help, meet Party activists and explain Party policy to them, and inform them of the internal and external situation, and teach them in detail how to run cell meetings and work with Party members and non-Party people. And they should let the rural Party cell nuclei attend county Party committee plenary meetings, model meetings, demonstration lectures and the like to be organized on a county-wide scale so as to educate them and teach them the methods of work.

This winter we should organize a short-term training course for chairmen and members of rural Party cell committees, chiefs of ri social organizations, chairmen of ri people's committees, ri secretaries and other rural hard-core elements. The Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee and provincial Party committees should prepare thoroughly for the training course from now onwards.

What is important here is to prepare good lecture texts. The texts must be so drafted as to help the rural core elements in correctly understanding the political situation in our country and acquiring class awareness. The Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee should prepare good texts, taking into due consideration the qualifications of those who are to attend the training course and the opinions of provincial, city, county, and sub-county Party workers.

Competent people must be selected as lecturers and they should be prepared well for lectures. Incompetent people cannot deliver good lectures to suit the political preparedness of the audience. Some time ago we visited the Central Party School to inspect classwork. The teacher used difficult terms in his lecture to

the students who were at a low level and asked them to learn the content of the lecture by heart mechanically. Poorly qualified teachers cannot but give lectures that way.

Only those who are well-versed in Party work and are politically and theoretically prepared can give good lectures in keeping with the political level of the short course trainees and in the context of actual problems. Provincial Party organizations should select as lecturers those who have a strong Party spirit, are prepared politically and theoretically, are versed in Party work, and have rich experience in it.

Further, steps must be taken to compile good data for Party cell studies, the *Political Knowledge* and various other study materials, as well as *Peasant Newspaper*, and multiply their copies so that the countryside gets more publications.

The *Political Knowledge* and *Peasant Newspaper* are now being received favourably by rural Party members and peasants. Yet, they want these publications to be written in plain terms.

The *Political Knowledge* must be well compiled to meet the requirements of Party members in rural areas. It had better carry lots of realistic matter. The Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee should make it rich in content but easy to understand.

The compilation of *Peasant Newspaper* should also be improved. It should carry articles explaining the policy of our Party and the Government of the Republic, material for class education and on farming techniques, on feats performed by peasants in the campaign to increase wartime production of grain, and on the experience gained in the management of democratic publicity halls. Thus the newspaper will help intensify Party political education and mass cultural work in the countryside. In order to make it rich in content and easy to understand, the staff of the newspaper should be built of capable people.

To continue. Rural democratic publicity halls must be managed properly.

The democratic publicity hall is the base of mass education. It puts main stress on mass cultural work while at the same time propagating Party policy and disseminating scientific and technical knowledge through varied methods. The effective management of democratic publicity halls will make it possible to raise the political and ideological level and cultural attainments of Party members and non-Party people.

By the way, the democratic publicity halls run by full-time chiefs are not too bad, but those run by part-time chiefs are sloppy.

In order to manage the halls well, it is essential to enhance the sense of responsibility and role of their chiefs.

They should make every effort to run the halls so skilfully as to rouse public interest. People will come there with interest if many persons are drawn into the activities of the halls—allowing great readers to read novels, good singers to sing songs, elderly storytellers to tell old stories, veterans to speak about battles they fought, those with high political and theoretical attainments to explain Party policy. From now on democratic publicity hall chiefs should draw in their work many teachers, soldiers of adjacent army units, youths, women and old people, and organize novel reading, story telling, battle story telling, singing sessions, explanatory talks, lectures, etc., under a set plan.

Democratic publicity halls must be so arranged as to have educational value. Various slogan boards and charts must be hung on the walls, and books, newspapers, magazines, pictorials and other educational material be kept, as well as playthings. This will induce people to come there to read books or papers or sing songs as they please.

To improve the work of democratic publicity halls, we should refresh the ranks of their chiefs from among good people and raise their qualifications. They should be reinforced by those who are prepared politically and theoretically. Short training courses, meetings to exchange experience, and model lectures should be held regularly to raise their qualifications. In future, we should replace

part-time chiefs with full-time chiefs who will take care of two halls each.

The Information and Publicity Department of the Party Central Committee and the Ministry of Culture and Information should intensify their guidance of the activities of democratic publicity halls.

The Ministry of Culture and Information should dispatch mobile projecting teams to rural areas and organize performance tours by art troupes, so that peasants can see films and art performances.

FOR A FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF LITERATURE AND ART (10 August 1954)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1982), 9.51–58.

Today I should like to speak briefly on a few matters to which people in the field of literature and art should pay attention in their future creative activities.

In creating literary and artistic works, they should first pay serious attention to correctly combining works based on our history and revolutionary struggle with those based on the reality of today.

At present one-sidedness is a serious defect in producing or disseminating literary and artistic works. If the Party criticizes that classics of literature and art are not to be had, they devote themselves only to disseminating them and neglect other matters. Some writers and artistes claim that they create works based on postwar reconstruction because the Party has urged them to do so, and neglect to write about the heroic struggle of our People's Army and people during the Fatherland Liberation War. In the sphere of literature and art they do not properly disseminate among the people excellent works produced during the war.

At present they do not widely popularize the songs: *At a Well* and *Song of Truck Drivers*, which our People's Army and people were fond of singing during the Fatherland Liberation War. What is more serious is that these songs are not sung in original but with words interpolated arbitrarily, thus spoiling their excellence.

These shortcomings in the field of literature and art should be remedied as soon as possible and the Party's literary and artistic policy followed thoroughly.

Great efforts should be made to create and disseminate works based on the Fatherland Liberation War.

This is a very important matter from the point of view of achieving national reunification and stepping up postwar reconstruction.

Our country is not yet reunified and the US imperialists still occupying south Korea are bent on preparing for war in order to invade the northern half of Korea. In order to accomplish the cause of national reunification in this situation, we must expect an arduous struggle in the future and, to wage this struggle, we must firmly prepare Party members and other people politically and ideologically.

The effort for postwar reconstruction is also a very difficult struggle that demands that the masses of the people display a burning patriotism and unequalled heroism. In order to make the hard and huge work of postwar reconstruction a success, education should be intensified so that all the people maintain the same spirit and enthusiasm as they had in defeating the US imperialists in the war.

The literary and artistic works based on the Fatherland Liberation War have a great effect in educating the masses of the people along revolutionary lines. We should educate Party members and other people by creating large numbers of literary and artistic works such as novels, films, songs, dances, etc., using living materials on the heroic struggle of the People's Army and people during the war against the US imperialists, who boasted themselves to be the "strongest" in the world, and their stooges. At the same time, the existing works based on the Fatherland Liberation War should be disseminated widely among the people. Now that a truce has been made, our people engaged in peaceful construction will be much impressed by literary and artistic works portraying their struggle waged during the severe war.

Literary and artistic works based on the present realities should be created in plenty, in addition to those on the Fatherland Liberation War.

Only then is it possible to give an impetus to the struggle of the working people who have risen up in postwar reconstruction and accelerate it successfully. To base themselves on the seething realities and depict them correctly is an important task of writers and artistes.

In response to the Party's call "Everything for the postwar rehabilitation and development of the national economy to strengthen the democratic base!" our people are working miracles and bringing

about innovations throughout the country to fulfil ahead of schedule the plan for this year, the first year of the Three-Year National Economic Plan. Writers and artistes should skilfully portray the pulsating realities of reconstruction and the heroic struggle of the people, thus making their own contribution to postwar reconstruction.

In the field of literature and art the work of creating and spreading works based on the history of our country, too, should not be neglected but conducted efficiently in the future.

Next, in this field the national cultural heritage should be taken over and developed in the right direction.

This is of great significance in increasing the national pride and confidence of the people and bringing about the flowering of national culture. In the first days of liberation our Party put forth the policy of carrying national cultural heritage forward in the right course and has ever since striven to implement it.

However, due to their lack of a clear understanding of the requirements of the Party's policy on taking over and developing our national cultural legacy, some people in the field of literature and art commit deviations.

At present certain writers and artistes are inclined to criticize the present-day literary and artistic works as incompatible with the earlier ones. This is a very serious fact. They claim that the husky voice is a singing tone peculiar to our nation; and they consider ballads well sung only when women sing them in a husky voice and encourage them to do so. This prevents new people from entering the field of national art and causes those with husky voices to flock together. This is why our national art does not develop. The husky voice is not a singing tone peculiar to our nation; it is the one used by clowns in the former days. All historians admit this. How, then, can the husky voice be the singing tone peculiar to our national music? Even if it is a trend of music coming down from old times, there is no need to advocate that it should be followed today as it is. The husky voice was liked in old days by the nobility who wore horse-hair hats and rode donkeys. However we propagate it as good, our young people who wear Western clothes today will not like it. To claim that

a husky voice is good is a revivalist trend to preserve the old blindly without any considerations.

The revivalist trend is manifested also in preserving the national form of art. At present, in developing national culture and art certain people intend to restore backward, outdated costumes and, moreover, to play national musical instruments sitting on the floor with legs crossed even today just because our forefathers did so. To preserve and develop our national cultural legacy in keeping with the present reality is a major policy maintained consistently by our Party in building national culture. We must approach our national cultural heritage neither in a nihilistic nor in a revivalist manner. We should correctly distinguish what is progressive and popular in our national cultural legacy from what is backward and reactionary, and carry the former forward critically and discard the latter.

Literary and artistic workers should carry through this policy of the Party. In taking over and developing our national cultural legacy they should conduct an energetic struggle particularly against the revivalist trend to preserve old things unconditionally.

In creating, publishing and distributing works, men of literature and art should have the right approach and attitude to historical material.

During the Fatherland Liberation War, in order to help educate the People's Army and the people, we advised them to publish books on heroes which contain materials of our ancestors' struggles against foreign invaders and authentic records of valorous soldiers of the People's Army.

But some people tried to publish such incidents as would adversely affect our relations with other countries, without taking any political considerations, on the ground that they were historical facts. So we criticized their wrong viewpoints.

Even if they are historical facts, we should sharply analyse them from a political standpoint, and refrain from introducing and propagating them, if they could cause the slightest hindrance to educating the people and advancing society. From now onward literary and artistic workers should steadily improve their political

insight and thus firmly maintain political and ideological standpoints in creating, publishing and disseminating works.

Further, in the field of literature and art a strenuous struggle should be waged against the trends to imitate foreign works.

At present some writers and artistes tend to imitate foreign works, instead of using their own brains. Our films and novels have many similarities to foreign ones. Even in painting, they ape foreign artists. All these are trends of dogmatism and flunkeyism, and are very harmful to the advancement of national culture and art. If we copy foreign works, we cannot create excellent works in harmony with the thinking and sentiments of our people and realities or develop national culture. This imitation is alien to the work attitude of the writers and artistes with the Party standpoint.

All writers and artistes should rid themselves completely from the wrong attitude of copying foreign works and use their brains to produce excellent works that reflect our realities. To this end, they should equip themselves closely with our Party's line and policy, the Party's policy on literature and art in particular, and apply them fully to their creative activities.

Meanwhile, they should go deep into realities. As long as they remain cooped up at the desk without contact with vibrant realities, they cannot create excellent works which meet our people's requirements and the spirit of the times, and have a high ideological and artistic value.

Our country's realities have many good subjects for artistic portrayal. If literary and artistic works are based on the grandiose struggle of our people who have risen up for postwar reconstruction and the efforts of our fishermen who fight violent waves to catch more fish in the sea, these works will accord with Korean character and sentiments and will be liked by the people. Therefore, writers and artistes should go out and delve into realities, living under the same roof with workers, peasants and other working people.

To continue. The broad masses of the people should be drawn actively in literary and artistic activities.

Like all other revolutionary work, literary and artistic work cannot achieve success by relying on a few professional writers and artistes alone. In order to develop literature and art, we should induce the broad sections of masses to take part in this work. The masses are not only the makers of material wealth but also the creators of literature and art. Only when they are involved in literary and artistic activities will there be a large number of excellent works which reflect truthfully the lives of workers, peasants and other working people. This is proved by the works shown at the recent national contest of amateur art circles; many good literary and artistic works created by the masses themselves were represented on the stage and the dance Girls Pick Apples produced by the members of the amateur art circle from Jongju County, North Phyongan Province, was an excellent piece. Life shows clearly that only when the masses are made to take part in literary and artistic activities will good works be created and our national culture and art blossom.

It is true that, the works of amateur art circle members may be a little inferior to those created by professional artists in both artistic representation and technique. But the former are characterized by a truthful and vivid portrayal of real life, and, for this reason, arouse great sympathy among people.

From now on the work of amateur art circles should be conducted more briskly and the broad masses involved actively in literary and artistic activities. The officials in the Ministry of Culture and Information and in the field of literature and art should make effective organizational arrangements so that the broad masses can take part in brisk literary and artistic activities. They should also intensify their guidance to mass cultural work. As for the literary and artistic works produced by the masses, they should be valued and actively encouraged, even if they have shortcomings.

I hope you will strive for the thorough implementation of our Party’s policy on literature and art.

LENIN'S THEORY IS OUR GUIDELINE (15 April 1955)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1982), 9.271–81.

On April 22 the progressive people throughout the world will greet the 85th anniversary of the birth of V. I. Lenin, the great genius of revolution, the leader and teacher of the working people of the whole world.

Lenin's name is immensely precious to all people. His theory reflected the urgent demand of human society and the interests, hopes and aspirations of the exploited and oppressed masses of the people, showed them the way to succeed in their struggle for liberation and inspired them to wage the decisive struggle for national and social emancipation.

On the basic propositions of Marx and Engels, Lenin put forward the scientific theory on the national and colonial questions in the era of imperialism, in the new historical situation. It holds an important place in Leninism.

Lenin clarified that linking the liberation struggles of the dependent nations with the proletarian revolution was an important condition for the triumph of this revolution and the only correct way to free peoples from imperialist oppression.

He attached great significance to the growing national-liberation struggle in Asian countries. As early as 1913, analysing the Asian peoples' struggle, he said: "Everywhere in Asia a mighty democratic movement is growing, spreading and gaining in strength. Hundreds of millions of people are awakening to life, light and freedom…. What delight this world movement is arousing in the hearts of all class-conscious workers, who know that the path to collectivism lies through democracy!"[2]

The events of Asia in the past scores of years turned out as foretold by Lenin. The existence of the Soviet Union and its daily

[2] Editors: This is from V. I. Lenin, "Backward Europe and Advanced Asia," in *Collected Works* 19 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1977), 99–100.

growing power and authority became a major factor in the revolutionization of Asian peoples' liberation movements.

As a result, more than half the Asian population which exceeds a billion is now free once and for all from the cursed colonial oppression and subjugation and is advancing confidently on the road of building a new life of freedom.

The Chinese people won a historic victory in the many years of national-liberation struggle against the forces of imperialism and domestic reaction. This victory tipped the balance of forces between the two camps in favour of socialism and progress and to the disadvantage of imperialism and reaction both in Asia and the rest of the world. The founding of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people's transition to the building of socialism mean the triumph of the great Lenin's theory and its embodiment.

Today, the peoples of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Mongolian People's Republic and the Democratic Republic of Vietnam are scoring great successes on the road of building a new life on the basis of Lenin's invincible theory.

The evil designs of the American, British, French and other colonialists on India, Indonesia and Burma are also being frustrated, and the peoples of Asian countries who have already cast off the yoke of colonial slavery are defending their hard-won national independence.

In those Asian countries which are still in the grip of colonial subjugation by foreign imperialists, the liberation struggle front is gaining in scope and strength, and the peoples are shouting louder and louder, "Colonialists, hands off Asia!"

1

The significance of Lenin's theory in the Korean people's national-liberation struggle is immeasurable.

The Korean people suffered from colonial oppression at the hands of most vicious Japanese imperialism for nearly 40 years.

Already at the close of 1920, defining the characteristics of the then situation in Korea, V. I. Lenin said, "Take the two imperialist countries, Japan and America. They want to fight and will fight for world supremacy, for the right to loot…. Japan will fight so as to continue to plunder Korea, which she is doing with unprecedented brutality, combining all the latest technical inventions with purely Asiatic tortures."[3]

In these circumstances, a national-liberation movement began to develop in Korea, which in its initial period was characterized by spontaneity and lack of organization.

With the formation of the modern proletariat and its emergence on the arena of struggle in the 1920s, the Korean people's national-liberation struggle gradually assumed a political and class character, embracing broader sections of the working masses.

The Korean national-liberation movement in those years, however, had not the organizing and guiding force capable of correctly leading the movement to victory. Only a new type of party armed with an invincible, progressive theory—Marxism-Leninism—was to perform such a role.

The Great October Socialist Revolution had a great impact on the liberation struggle of our people. The victory of the October Revolution marked a turning point in the rapid spread of the revolutionary thought of Marxism-Leninism in our country.

Korea's fine patriots began to delve into Lenin's theory. Lenin's words became inspiring power to them and guideline to their righteous struggle to liberate their people.

Illegal groups for the study of Marxism-Leninism began to be formed among workers and progressive intellectuals in the industrial centres of our country. Through these study groups, the Marxist-Leninist theory was disseminated among the broad masses of the workers and peasants and at last became the solid ideological basis of

[3] Editors: This is from V. I. Lenin, "Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Activists of the Moscow Organization of the R.C.P.(B.), December 6, 1920," *Collected Works* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1966), 31.438–59.

our people's national-liberation struggle by overcoming the petty-bourgeois nationalist tendency within the struggle.

Lenin's cogent arguments on the fundamental questions of strategy and tactics of liberation struggle and the correctness and purposefulness of his theory animated the hearts of Korea's true patriots and produced a large number of ardent supporters and followers of Leninism. At the same time, our people's liberation struggle made a new progress, and Lenin's theory strengthened the political character and purposefulness of the struggle.

Under the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology, this struggle was directed not only against the colonial rulers of Japanese imperialism, but also against their collaborators—the reactionary landlords, capitalists and other traitors to the nation at home. The working-class movement within the country was closely linked with the peasant movement in the struggle to liberate the country from colonial oppression and win democratic state power.

The class consciousness and political awareness of the Korean working class, peasantry and intellectuals grew, and this resulted in the birth of the Korean Communist Party, the inspirer of the national-liberation movement in our country, 30 years ago, that is, in April 1925. The foundation of the Communist Party was followed by widespread organized workers' strikes and peasant uprisings in different parts of the country.

The Korean communists had to fight in very difficult conditions where the network of Japanese police, detectives, spies and terrorists was spread throughout the country. Petty-bourgeois intellectuals and opportunists of all hues were entrenched in the ranks of the Communist Party and its leadership. Japanese imperialist repression and police terrorism intensified. These factors greatly weakened the Party ranks and its leadership and kept the Party from striking deep roots among the broad masses of the people and from giving revolutionary leadership to our people's struggle. In consequence, the Korean Communist Party ceased to be an organized force in 1928, three years after its birth.

Nevertheless, stalwart communists went on with the arduous struggle at the head of the national-liberation movement of our people. With the beginning of the 1930s a fresh force developed the struggle into an overt armed struggle on a new scale.

In many parts of our country and northeast China, the Korean communists began to organize anti-Japanese guerrilla units. They became the hard core of the guerrilla forces and played a decisive role in organizing and leading the armed struggle to success.

The source of the anti-Japanese guerrillas' strength consisted in their close ties with the people. The people saw devoted champions of their happiness in the guerrillas and supported them with all their efforts and by every means.

The Korean communists waged the anti-Japanese armed struggle both in Korea and northeast China. In their struggle against the Japanese imperialist aggressors, the common enemy of the Korean and Chinese peoples, they developed close militant friendship and solidarity with the Chinese people's revolutionary armed forces. The joint struggle which was launched when our national-liberation movement was at its height, laid the solid foundations of internationalist friendship and solidarity between the two peoples of Korea and China.

The anti-Japanese armed struggle played a great part in the history of our people's national-liberation movement. The armed struggle showed that the Marxist-Leninist ideology had penetrated deep into the broad masses of the workers and peasants in our country and that Marxist-Leninist principles were correctly applied to Korea's specific conditions. The struggle was a link in the international revolutionary movement and in the national-liberation struggle of the peoples in colonies and dependent countries in the world.

The anti-Japanese armed struggle which started and developed in the most difficult years in our country, opened up a new stage at which our people's national-liberation movement against Japanese imperialism advanced from a passive form of struggle to an active one.

In spite of rampant terrorism and persecution by the Japanese imperialist colonial rulers, their most shameless, slanderous propaganda against the champions of the freedom and independence of the country and all sorts of their crafty maneuvers to disrupt the ranks of our national-liberation struggle, Korea's steadfast patriots upheld the banner of national-liberation struggle and fought bravely, overcoming all difficulties and obstacles, by winning sympathy and support from the masses of the people.

While carrying on the anti-Japanese armed struggle, the Korean communists attached great significance to rallying all patriotic forces in the homeland behind the national united front. For this purpose, they formed the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland in May 1936. The Programme of the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland put forward the tasks of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle and urged that the broad masses of the people should participate in the struggle to carry out the tasks.

The political line declared and implemented by the Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland was in accord with the fundamental national interests of the Korean people. For this reason, the association had a tremendous impact on the masses. The fact that hundreds of thousands of people in all walks of life joined the association only in a matter of few months clearly shows what a deep trust and prestige it won from our people.

The Association for the Restoration of the Fatherland played a great role in explaining the aim and tasks of our national-liberation struggle among the broad masses and in mobilizing all the patriotic forces of Korea in the struggle to liberate the country.

In this way, the Korean communists kept on fighting for national liberation, democracy and the happiness of the people, using different forms and methods of struggle, till Korea became free in August 1945.

2

The great Lenin said: "...the hundreds of millions of Asian working people, has a reliable ally in the proletariat of all civilized countries. No force on earth can prevent its victory, which will liberate both the peoples of Europe and the peoples of Asia."[4]

Lenin's idea of proletarian internationalism is of great significance in all our people's struggle and its success.

With the termination of the Second World War and the defeat of Japanese imperialism, our country was liberated from the long-drawn-out colonial oppression, and the road of a free, new life opened up before the Korean people.

The Communist Party of Korea which was founded after liberation, merged in 1946 with the New Democratic Party to become the Workers' Party of Korea. Guided by the Marxist-Leninist theory, the Workers' Party of Korea invariably followed the policy of reunifying the country peacefully on democratic principles, of carrying out democratic reforms in north Korea and of consolidating the people's democratic system. In the five-year period that followed liberation, our people under the leadership of the Workers' Party of Korea achieved a considerable success in building democracy.

The US imperialists and their stooges, however, ignited a war against our people in an attempt to subjugate our country, suppress the national-liberation struggle of Asian peoples and unleash a new world war. This interrupted our peaceful construction.

During the Fatherland Liberation War, the Workers' Party of Korea mobilized all forces of the nation in the struggle against the occupiers, and its members played a leading and inspiring role both at the front and in the rear.

The whole world already knows the peerless heroism our people displayed and also the sacrifices and losses they suffered in the three years of grim war in defence of the freedom and independence of their country and the people's democratic system. Our people emerged victorious in the Fatherland Liberation War with

[4] Editors: This is from Lenin, "Backward Europe and Advanced Asia."

the aid from the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other brotherly countries and also with the sympathy and support from the honest-minded people the world over.

The lesson of the Korean war patently proves the validity of Lenin's words to the effect that no force can ever defeat a people who stand up to defend the freedom and independence of their country and that a people struggling in a just cause will enjoy the support and aid from the working peoples of all lands.

The peoples in the lands of socialism and People's Democracies who have been educated in Lenin's idea of patriotism and proletarian internationalism and united with the unbreakable bonds of brotherhood, are safeguarding their freedom and social systems with vigilance. They will never tolerate imperialist encroachment on the camp of peace, democracy and socialism, which is the greatest achievement mankind has ever attained, and the hope of all oppressed and exploited masses.

3

In the postwar years, the Workers' Party of Korea is organizing all the working people for the struggle to rebuild and develop quickly the national economy devastated in the war.

Our people are successfully pushing ahead with postwar reconstruction. In industry, more than 120 major factories and other enterprises have already been rebuilt or newly built and put into operation. The rural economy, too, has scored notable successes. Science, culture and arts are also making headway, and the people's material and cultural standards are improving.

Korea, however, still remains divided artificially because of the US ruling circles and their stooges, the Syngman Rhee puppet clique. The southern half of our country has been reduced once again to a colony of imperialism. In place of the Japanese predecessors, the American imperialist colonial rulers are reigning there and have established a fascist order. The division of the country and the predatory colonial policy pursued by US imperialism in south Korea

have cut off the economic ties between north and south Korea and brought immeasurable miseries and poverty to the south Korean people.

In the postwar years, too, the Workers' Party of Korea has followed consistently the policy of peaceful national reunification. This policy has won the enthusiastic support and approval of all sections of the people in north and south Korea. Our Party will mobilize all the patriotic forces of the country and continue the all-people struggle to effect the withdrawal of the US imperialist occupiers from south Korea, isolate the traitorous Syngman Rhee clique who are acting against the people, and reunify the country by the efforts of the Korean people themselves and on a democratic basis.

In the struggle for peaceful national reunification, for Korea's advance on democratic lines and a happy future of our people, success depends on consolidating the democratic achievements in the northern half of Korea and further strengthening the political and economic power in the north.

The Workers' Party of Korea has put forward the task of laying the foundations of socialism in the northern half of Korea and is striving for its fulfilment. The decisive factors in this effort are to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance under working-class leadership, develop the socialist relations of production and advance the country's productive forces, on the basis of the success already achieved in the postwar reconstruction of the national economy.

Of the three socio-economic sectors now existing in the northern half of Korea—the socialist sector, the small commodity sector and the capitalist sector—the socialist one (consisting of the state-owned and cooperative economies) is predominant in the national economy. The socialist sector accounts for some 98 per cent of industrial production in our country. In our countryside the cooperative economy now holds some 32 per cent of the total peasant households and approximately one-third of the total area under cultivation.

Leninism teaches that laying material and technical foundations is indispensable to build socialism and that a large-scale machine industry alone can serve as such foundations. Our people are confronted with the task of effecting industrialization in their country to provide a solid groundwork for the development of all branches of the national economy, to improve the people's material and cultural standards and to increase defence power.

Socialist industrialization in our country is proceeding in an international environment quite different from the one in which the Soviet Union carried out industrialization single-handed in the capitalist encirclement. We are now in far more favourable conditions. We are a member of the powerful socialist camp and are receiving brotherly aid from the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China and other People's Democracies. Economic cooperation with the fraternal countries constitutes a powerful factor in accelerating socialist industrialization in our country.

V. I. Lenin taught that the building of socialism is impossible without transforming agriculture on socialist lines and that the only correct way to the socialist transformation of agriculture lies through its cooperativization.

The Workers' Party of Korea is paying great attention to agricultural cooperativization in our country. The Party is consolidating and developing the already formed agricultural cooperatives organizationally and economically by giving them every possible state assistance and ensuring correct guidance to them. The Party is also helping private farmers, convincing them of the advantages of cooperative farming by explanation and practical example and enlisting them in the cooperative economy strictly on voluntary principle.

Building of socialism in our country makes it imperative to root out the survivals of Japanese imperialism from the minds of people and further intensify the political and ideological education of the workers, peasantry and intellectuals. Doing this is essential to ensure success and greater speed in socialist construction.

Quite a few difficulties stand in our way ahead. But we have every condition to overcome these difficulties. We have plenty of resources, our people's firm determination to achieve the prosperity and progress of the country and assistance from the peoples of fraternal countries.

The Korean people are headed by the Workers' Party of Korea which organizes and inspires them from victory to victory.

The Workers' Party of Korea is in monolithic unity with the masses. It pursues the policy of strengthening the Government of the Republic and cementing in every way the Democratic Front for the Reunification of Korea which embraces all the progressive political parties and social organizations in our country. All the Korean people ardently support and approve the policy of the Workers' Party of Korea for the prosperity of the country, for the improvement of the people's material and cultural standards and for the strengthening of internationalist solidarity with the peoples of the countries in the camp of peace, democracy and socialism.

The name of V. I. Lenin, the leader and teacher of the working people throughout the world, is cherished deep in the hearts of the Korean people. By penetrating the dark clouds of colonial rule which hung heavily over our land in those years, the idea of the great Lenin lit the road for our people to win their national and social emancipation. His theory is our guideline to building a brilliant new society in our country, a society to the cause of which he dedicated all his shining life and genius.

EXCERPT FROM *ON SOME TASKS OF PARTY ORGANIZERS AT THE PRESENT TIME* (25 Nov 1956)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1982), 10.336–39.

On Fully Acquiring Revolutionary Viewpoint on the Masses

Great progress has been made in Party work in the past, but the bureaucratic style of work is still in evidence considerably among some Party officials.

Their bureaucratic practice is due to lack of a revolutionary viewpoint on the masses. In other words, they practise bureaucracy because they lack the spirit with which to subordinate everything to the desire and interests of the masses and fight in their interests.

If they are to make revolution, they must unite the masses of the people because it is an undertaking for the masses. A socialist, communist society where all the people live happily, cannot be built by the efforts of a few persons; it can be built successfully only by the united efforts of the masses. Hence the importance of the revolutionary mass viewpoint.

Party organizers must fully acquire the revolutionary mass viewpoint, bearing in mind that this is an essential guarantee for victory in the revolutionary struggle.

One thing that deserves attention in this regard is that you should not only listen to the voice of the masses and comply with their request promptly, but also give them a principled explanation when they make an unjustifiable request.

Recently the state raised wages for the workers, technicians and office workers. This measure was taken to improve their living standards, and actual conditions existed for taking the step.

The revolutionary mass viewpoint does not mean acquiescing in the demand of the masses without considering actual conditions. When the masses make an impossible request, you should give them a good, principled explanation.

Let me take an example. Immediately after liberation, the workers of the Pyongyang Railway Factory made a disturbance, unable to endure the food shortage. At that time we went to the scene, and they asked us for rice. So we retorted: From whom are you asking for rice? What rice can we give you when we are just back from the battle in Mt. Paektu? Work alone will bring you rice. Rice will come from nowhere if you do not work. You should, therefore, work, overcoming the difficulties. We have had to starve many days on end now and then during the guerrilla struggle, but won ultimately by overcoming the difficulties by ourselves. We told them this. Hearing my speech, they went to their workplace quietly and started working.

When I tell you to listen to the voice of the masses in the matter of establishing a revolutionary mass viewpoint, I never mean that you should accept any and all opinions. You should not misunderstand gossip as the voice of the basic masses. We must always hear the voice of the basic masses.

The struggle for the revolutionary mass viewpoint literally means the struggle for the masses. So one of the important questions in acquiring the mass viewpoint is to educate the masses, lead them along the right path and organize them for the fulfilment of the revolutionary task on the agenda.

Recently, when we were on a visit to the Kangson Steel Plant, officials there said that they were short of living houses and requested for them. We asked them why they should not build them with sun-dried bricks or with something like that and told them that they would be able to build such houses as many as they wanted if they mobilized the masses and used materials locally available. This is precisely the way to implement the principle of the revolutionary mass viewpoint.

Work among people must be done by the method of education in any case. At present, some Party officials are doing this work in an administrative way. They should not do so. The administrative method is a method of government. Party work should be done by the method of education in every respect.

Beating children is not an effective method for parents to educate them at home. For the education of mischievous children, it

must be properly explained to them why mischief is wrong so that they will truly repent their misbehaviour.

Education is basic to work among Party members as well. Our Party members are all fine people. Even if some of them have shortcomings, you must educate them properly rather than try to punish them indiscriminately. Punishment should be applied only to cases of serious mistakes and only when it is significant in educating a large number of fellow Party members.

There are two ways of educating the Party membership: individual education and group education. If these methods are combined correctly, the education of Party members will be successful.

We should further strengthen Party leadership over trade union organizations. In the past, some of the trade union workers failed to deliver a timely blow at So Hwi, a factionalist, who rejected Party leadership, arguing that the trade unions should get rid of the tutelage of the Party. How is it that our officials pass such utterances against the Party uncountered? It would be improbable that all those who participated in the revolutionary struggle in the past be always flawless communists. Even such veterans could degenerate if they retained capitalist ideas in their minds. Besides, So Hwi did many wrongs. We must intensify Party leadership over the trade union organizations to help them to clean off the poison spread by the anti-Party, counter-revolutionary factionalists. After this, the trade union organizations should be brought thoroughly to work under Party leadership.

LET US CREATE MANY LITERARY AND ART WORKS REFLECTING REALITIES (25 Dec 1956)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1982), 10.396–401.

Few works of literature and art reflecting the great changes taking place in our country have been produced of late.

The absence of good works reflecting our great socio-economic change is due to existence in this field of dogmatist, flunkeyist, formalist and formulist tendencies.

At present some writers show a tendency of looking up only to foreign things and trying to copy them. They even try to model after the literary style used in other countries; they think that this is essential for producing good works. This is a gross mistake. Because of such a viewpoint, the writers and artists fail to view the seething reality of our country in the right light and write so as to reflect it.

As you know, under the wise leadership of the Party, a great socio-economic change, unknown in our history, is taking place now in the country.

In the rural areas the agricultural cooperative movement is under way on a wide scale; this movement is original and the like of it cannot be found in other countries. In agricultural cooperativization, the generally established usage in other countries is first to develop industry and carry out technical transformation of agriculture and then reorganize the economic form. However, we cannot copy the experience of the agricultural cooperativization in other countries as it is, because our socio-economic and historic conditions differ from theirs.

In our country after the war, cooperative transformation of agriculture came to the fore as a very urgent problem the solution of which could not be delayed. Without agricultural cooperativization it was impossible to stabilize and improve the deteriorated living conditions of the peasants or bring agriculture to catch up with the fast developing industry. It was also impossible to promote socialist

construction as a whole without building up the rural position politically and economically through agricultural cooperativization. Therefore, our Party took steps to carry out socialist transformation of the economic form before technical transformation of agriculture. When the realities urgently demand the socialist reorganization of agriculture and there are ample forces to undertake it, we should transform the economic form along socialist lines before technical transformation in the rural economy. There is no need to put off agricultural cooperativization simply because industry is not developed.

Now, in our country the agricultural cooperative movement is proceeding successfully, with the result that agricultural production is making rapid progress, the peasants' living conditions are improving, and their political and ideological level is rising steadily. This shows that our Party's policy of agricultural cooperativization is correct.

Like the agrarian reform, the agricultural cooperative movement is a far-reaching socio-economic reform and a great revolutionary movement. In our country today, thanks to the cooperative reorganization of agriculture, old production relations in existence for thousands of years are being transformed into advanced socialist ones and the peasants, the erstwhile small commodity producers, are being remoulded into socialist working people. This epoch-making change serves as a model not only for Asian countries but for all countries which were colonies in the past.

As for industry, the US imperialist aggressors jabbered that north Korea would not be able to restore the destroyed factories and enterprises even in a hundred years. However, we have already rehabilitated almost all of them, and are now reconstructing and expanding them along modern lines. We are also building many new factories. Today our industry is developing by leaps and bounds.

If you depict such realities of our country well, you will produce excellent literary and art works. At present, however, good plays, films, novels and other literary and art works representing such historical events are not produced. This means that the writers do not

see our developing realities and that they have not acquired a revolutionary viewpoint. Some writers now say that they cannot write because the realities offer no subject matters; they talk about the "narrow range of subjects" and "limitation of genres." This shows that they are blind to the developing realities.

Writers are ardent information workers who explain and propagate our Party's policy among the people, and true educators who educate the masses. Therefore, they should properly explain and propagate the line and policy of the Party and the Government among the people through literary and art works. Since the line and policy of the Party and the Government are carried out in actuality, the writers should exert great efforts to create many works based on living realities. They should reject flunkeyist and dogmatist tendencies and adhere closely to the creative methods of socialist realism and write many works reflecting the process of socio-economic change taking place in our country.

You should also create many works dealing with our Party's glorious revolutionary traditions. Now there are few such literary and art works. As a matter of fact, there is a lot of living material for writing such works. The question is that our writers are not keen on such things.

Literary and art works based on the revolutionary traditions play a very important role in educating the people to be infinitely loyal to the Party and the revolution, and in inspiring them to participate vigorously in the revolutionary struggle. The writers should strive to create many good works dealing with the revolutionary traditions.

Along with this, we should produce many literary and art works portraying the proud struggle of the People's Army soldiers and the people who displayed matchless valour and mass heroism in numerous battles including the one on Height 1211 during the Fatherland Liberation War.

We should also produce works which will contribute to the cause of national reunification. National reunification is the supreme national task of our people.

At present no works are produced to show the contrast between the happy life of the people in the northern half of Korea and the miserable life of the people in the southern half who are groaning in dire distress. Neither are there works depicting the struggle of the south Korean people against the US imperialists and the south Korean puppet clique. The writers should produce works which show the bloody struggle of the south Korean people for national reunification as well as works which vividly illustrate the northern half of Korea, a "paradise," and the southern half, a "hell." These works will greatly stimulate our people to wage a solemn struggle for national reunification.

In the field of literature and art, you must pay due attention to preserving and developing the nation's cultural legacy.

If the tasks confronting literature and art are to be carried out successfully, we should arm the writers with our Party's ideas. There are now various tendencies among the writers, such as flunkeyism and dogmatism. This is ascribable to the fact that they are not firmly equipped with our Party's ideas due to the neglect of their education in Party policy and revolutionary traditions. Only when they are armed with our Party's ideas, can the writers become revolutionaries and produce revolutionary works. If they are not armed with the Party's ideology, they can see not the prospects of the revolution but only the immediate bottlenecks and difficulties just like a man who has not reached the mountain top.

In the field of literature and art, you should establish the revolutionary habit of study among the writers and intensify the study of Party policy and revolutionary traditions and thus see to it that they are firmly equipped with the Party's line and policy and thoroughly acquire revolutionary world outlook. Along with this, you should get the writers to learn our Party's revolutionary method of work.

It is important to strengthen Party organizational life among the writers.

I have been told that some writers are acting wilfully and tend to loathe organizational life. This is a manifestation of the remnants

of bourgeois ideology. Only through organizational life can people undergo revolutionary tempering.

You should strengthen Party organizational life among the writers, and thus make them observe the Party's organizational discipline voluntarily and temper themselves without letup. You should see to it that the writers intensify criticism and self-criticism and always study, work and live in a revolutionary way under the guidance of the Party organization. In particular, you should wage an energetic struggle among the writers against all hues of counter-revolutionary ideological trends including capitalist and revisionist ideas.

The life of a revolutionary is a life of struggle. Revolutionaries should continue struggle. Where there is no struggle, there cannot be progress, and in such places the survivals of obsolete ideology are apt to revive. There is very urgent need to intensify the ideological struggle against all kinds of obsolete ideas especially because their survivals persist in the minds of writers and the US imperialists and their lackeys are maneuvering to spread capitalist ideology. Unless we fight against the obsolete ideology among writers including capitalist and revisionist ideas, it is impossible to safeguard our Party's ideas on literature and art and develop socialist literature and art.

At present some writers are unwilling to submit to the guidance by the Party organization because they think that the Party organization imposes its views on them through its guidance over their creative work in disregard of their opinions. Besides, some writers even reveal the tendency of yearning after the "freedom of creation" or trying to produce works of pathos.

The fact that they are displeased with the Party organization's guidance over creative work, cry for the "freedom of creation" or try to write pathetic works, is a concrete expression of the liberalist and revisionist ideological trends that reject the Party's leadership over literature and art. These liberalist and revisionist tendencies among some writers can be ascribed to the influence of capitalism and revisionism smuggled by the anti-Party factionalists from abroad.

Revisionists reject the Party's leadership over the revolution and construction and maneuver to weaken the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We should never tolerate liberalist and revisionist tendencies revealed among writers. Our literature and art should thoroughly maintain Party and class character. Our literature and art are one of our Party's powerful means of ideological education serving the Party and the working masses, and a weapon of class struggle against the imperialists, landlords and capitalists. On no account can we tolerate some writers preaching capitalist ideology and bourgeois liberty while crying for the "freedom of creation." Our Party demands that the writers wield their pen for an uncompromising struggle against the class enemies and create works of literature and art which are thoroughly of the Party, of the class and of the people.

Some writers do not study our Party's policy on literature and art but, captivated by flunkeyism, claim that they can learn from revisionist and other opportunist "theories of literature and art," but they are wrong. Unless the writers are firmly armed with our Party's ideas on literature and art, they cannot produce revolutionary works nor faithfully serve the Party and the people. The opportunist "theory of literature and art" is a counter-revolutionary ideological trend which paralyses the class consciousness of the people. Writers should fight resolutely against the opportunist "literary and art theory" and thoroughly defend and uphold our Party's revolutionary theory of literature and art.

I believe that you will do everything possible to thoroughly implement our Party's literary and art policy.

THE CINEMA SHOULD HAVE GREAT APPEAL AND MOVE AHEAD OF THE REALITIES (17 Jan 1958)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1983), 6–13.

In the past years you, the cinema artists, have produced many good films in response to the Party's policy on creating works of socialist realism.

The feature film *The Unfinished Battle* is a good production made at a time when the whole party engaged in a struggle against counter-revolutionary elements.

This film has many good points.

Firstly, it came out at an opportune time.

Secondly, it not only shows vividly the beautiful appearance of Pyongyang which is rising magnificently. Its content is also good in that the man who infiltrated from south Korea on an espionage mission is moved deeply and feels the joy of labour when he sees the throbbing realities of the northern half of Korea, thus becoming ready to start his life afresh. This stands out in contrast to the film "Brothers" in which the man is forced into a diving-bell against his will.

Thirdly, it is also of value in educating the intellectuals. It shows the devoted service of intellectuals to the Party and the people and, in particular, the high service of the medical workers.

Fourthly, another merit of the film is that it is so made as to play an instructive role in increasing the revolutionary vigilance of the people.

Fifthly, yet another merit of the film is that all its scenes are beautiful.

But this production has its shortcomings, too. The film has failed to represent skilfully the process of the hero's reformation in the circumstances where the two diametrically different social systems of the north and the south of Korea are shown in contrast. It

also has not depicted truthfully the process of the hero's class awakening.

The recent film "The Orang River" is also well made. I think this film, which portrays the People's Army soldiers and people fighting courageously in defence of the country, would help educate the working people in the spirit of socialist patriotism. But it also has a drawback in that it has failed to show clearly the struggle of the peasants who had received land after liberation and who risked their very lives to defend the democratic system in the northern half of Korea.

Although success has been achieved to some degree in the production of films in the past years, our cinematic art still falls short of the Party's demand. Today our country is in the upsurge of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism, but our cinematic art fails to keep pace with the developments. So far our films have only depicted the historical facts of the people's struggle; they have failed to play properly the leading role in educating and mobilizing the people while moving ahead of the realities. Take an example. In our countryside agricultural cooperativization today is nearing completion, but the films play no part, worthy of merit, in promoting cooperativization. Films are not coming out at the opportune time, but rather are like a guest following at the heels of the realities. In short, films are failing to play a mobilizing and educating role as they should.

Like the leading article of the Party paper, the cinema should have great appeal and move ahead of the realities. Thus, it should play a mobilizing role in each stage of the revolutionary struggle.

The cinema is a powerful means of visual information and motivation in the hands of our Party. Films can be shown to large numbers of people at various places at a time, and they can show visually, in a vivid way, historical facts and events covering a long period in a comparatively short time. So, in educating the working people, films are more effective than novels or newspapers, and more advantageous than plays that have stage limitation. There is no further need to say that the cinema is the most important and powerful means

of mass education of all the various forms of arts. The question is to make more films which have high appeal, which are ahead of the realities and which meet the requirements of our Party and people.

Cinema artists should produce a large number of films which would be of help in equipping the cooperative farmers with the revolutionary thinking of the working class.

Socialist reorganization of the economic forms has been nearly completed in our countryside, but the thinking of the farming population has not yet been remodelled along socialist lines. It is, therefore, very important today to reform their outdated thinking in a socialist way. Our films should make a positive contribution to the socialist remoulding of their thinking.

Furthermore, cinema artists should produce many films on the subject of education in socialist patriotism.

At the enlarged plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee in December 1957, we strongly emphasized the question of strengthening the education in socialist patriotism among the Party members and working people.

Our Party gives major emphasis to the question of education in socialist patriotism because a large part of our youth have grown up without going through hardships and have little knowledge about the landlords and capitalists. Without knowing what a hard life their parents lived in the past society of exploitation and how cruelly the landlords and capitalists sweated the working people, the young people cannot have a deep love and faith in their socialist homeland and the people's government. Only when they are clearly informed of the true nature and wickedness of the landlords and capitalists as exploiters can they struggle with devotion to safeguard the gains of the revolution and accelerate the building of socialism.

The patriotism we advocate is socialist patriotism. It simply would not do to refer vaguely to patriotism. Today even the puppet clique in south Korea are raving about "patriotism". In the name of "patriotism" they preach implicit "allegiance" to the anti-popular "government" which defends the interests of the exploiting classes. Contrary to this, our patriotism is socialist patriotism which calls for

defending and caring for the socialist system and the government of the workers and peasants and showing undivided loyalty to the Party, the working class and the people. Socialist patriotism alone is true patriotism, that is, genuine love for one's country and people.

Cinema artists should contribute to the education of the working people in the spirit of socialist patriotism by making more productions which expose the exploiting nature and wickedness of the landlords and capitalists. Able artists should take an active part in the production of films dealing with socialist patriotism and acquit themselves well in directing, acting and shooting.

In order to make many films which have high appeal and which go ahead of the realities, cinema artists should have a high sense of Party spirit, working-class spirit and loyalty to the people.

Party spirit is nothing less than working-class spirit and loyalty to the people. Without Party spirit there can be no working-class spirit and loyalty to the people. Therefore, one who is lacking in Party spirit cannot fight devotedly for the working class and the people.

In the past we, the communists, were able to fight unyieldingly for a long time against Japanese imperialism without fear of prison and gallows because we had strong Marxist-Leninist revolutionary principles and self-confidence. It is because all our activities are strictly based on Party principles that our Party has been doing its work well without committing errors ever since liberation. The same can be said of the creative activities of the artists. Only when cinema artists carry on their creative work with a high sense of Party spirit, working-class spirit and loyalty to the people and strictly on the revolutionary principles would they be able to produce good films conducive to our revolutionary cause.

To advocate pure art is an expression of art for art's sake. Artists should not create art for art's sake; they should create art for the Party and the revolution, for the working class and the people. To do so, they should eliminate all outdated thoughts from their minds. At present, all artists, without exception, are influenced more or less by remnants of outdated ideas. Cinema artists should strive to

eliminate the remnants of old ideas as soon as possible and acquire a high sense of Party spirit, working-class spirit and loyalty to the people.

While strengthening the ideological struggle for rooting out the outdated ideas still surviving among the cinema artists, we should send them to Party schools to study and to factories and farms to learn and harden themselves in the realities of life. At present, writers are out on the actual scenes of action, and they have achieved considerable success in receiving revolutionary stimulation.

Though young, our working class has a very strong Party and revolutionary spirit. The workers of the Hwanghae Iron Works have reconstructed their war-demolished factory in a very short space of time. They have reconditioned the blast furnace and coke oven; we say "reconditioned," but in fact, it is little short of a new construction. When the resolution of the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee in December 1956 was made public, too, our working class united themselves into one movement to implement it. At that time, we went to the workers and had a talk with them about how to break through the difficulties lying ahead of us, and we called upon them to bring about a great upswing in socialist construction. Inspired by the appeal of the Party, the workers of Kangson came forward with a resolution to produce 90,000 tons of steel materials at the blooming mill, which had a rated capacity of 60,000 tons, by actively tapping latent potential. They worked wonders in producing 120,000 tons by means of a heroic struggle. Our working class would carry out any task if it is a demand of the Party and the revolution.

Cinema artists should go among the workers and learn from their high sense of Party spirit, working-class spirit and loyalty to the people. If you go among the workers you would also learn about organization and discipline from them.

Furthermore, cinema artists should strengthen their life in the organization.

Many of the artists who have been engaged in creative activities since before liberation are acting in an unorganized manner. They have retained the old habit of talking big about the past and the

world while roaming about in groups of people who behave likewise. I have heard that some writers are pompously bragging about their past "history" of activities as members of the KAPF, but this is not good form. Yesterday's flower should also blossom today and tomorrow, too, and should continue to bloom. Or else, no one would love that flower. Whoever does not make an effort to remodel himself continuously would lag behind, and when he falls behind, he would eventually be thrown into the dustbin. Those who live in idle ease, leading a fast life and embezzling and wasting property, are, without exception, politically rotten. Such people would only become museum pieces which would not be worthy even of a glance.

Our Party expects a lot from the cinema artists. Those cinema artists who committed mistakes in the past seem to have realized their errors and made a firm resolution to rectify them. We believe they will undoubtedly mend their errors. Cinema artists should actively participate in organized activities and harden themselves continuously. They should become united and rally around the Party.

At the same time, cinema artists should resolutely combat the anti-Party factionalists without the slightest compromise.

As we have said at every occasion, the failure of the working-class movement in south Korea after liberation is due to the sabotage of the anti-Party factionalism. After liberation, the situation in south Korea was very favourable for the working-class movement. The working class of south Korea were aware that the bourgeoisie could not lead them, and they believed in the Communist Party. Even the non-comprador capitalists of south Korea pinned their hopes on the Communist Party. But owing to the sectarian strife of the anti-Party factionalists, including Pak Hon Yong, who formed part of the leadership of the Communist Party, the patriotic and democratic forces of south Korea were torn apart. Thus the Communist Party lost the confidence of the masses. Taking advantage of this, the reactionaries launched an offensive and so the advance of the patriotic and democratic forces, including the working class, was subjected to merciless suppression.

As for those who turn against the Party and try to disrupt it, we must wage a bitter struggle against them without the slightest compromise.

In the past the personnel of the film studio acquitted themselves poorly in the struggle for detecting and exposing the anti-Party factionalists who had sneaked into the studio and perpetrated acts of sabotage. While acting in films, the artists have such keen and sharp eyes and senses, but they remained ignorant of the clandestine deeds done by scoundrels inside the studio over many years. This baffles our understanding.

On seeing a few feature films, we realized that things were going amiss in the studio. In those films the Party's policies were not well-reflected and the class line was also ambiguously treated. Later on, we examined the work of the studio and found that there were very grave shortcomings. Cinema artists should learn serious lessons from this and wage an intensive struggle against anti-Party factionalists.

In future, Party, state and economic organizations should give active help in the work of cinematography.

Since the resolution of the Cabinet on developing the cinematic art was issued, the work of film-making has improved to some degree. But as the Party has given insufficient guidance in the work of the film studio, the ideological education of cinema artists has been unsatisfactory and the supply of materials for the production of films has also been poor.

This time the Presidium of the Party Central Committee should hear the report on the work of the film studio and adopt and announce a resolution on improving the work of film-making. The direction which the studio should take should thus be clearly defined, and the cinema artists should be mobilized ideologically in that direction.

The appropriate department of the Party Central Committee, the State Planning Commission and the State Construction Commission should find out the actual conditions of the film studio in detail and take necessary measures.

I will see to it that the Presidium of the Party Central Committee holds a discussion and meets the requests made this time by the comrades from the studio.

By devoting all their energies and talents to the implementation of the Party's policy on literature and art, the cinema artists should ensure that this year, 1958, becomes a year of great new upswing in the development of the cinematic art.

ON PROPERLY PRESERVING HISTORICAL REMAINS AND RELICS (30 April 1958)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1983), 12.202–6.

I would like to make a few remarks on the question of building Taesongsan Pleasure Park.

At present the construction of the road to Mt. Taesong is nearing completion. But by building a road alone you cannot call the place a pleasure park. In future we should develop Taesongsan Pleasure Park as a good cultural recreation ground for the people and turn it into a place where to educate the working people in the revolutionary traditions and patriotic spirit.

It is common knowledge that Mt. Taesong has a long and proud history. There are the graves of anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters and also a large number of historical remains. Old tombs of the Koguryo period alone number over 1,000 on this mountain; some of them have murals. There are also the remains of the ancient mountain fortress walls. These historical remains are part of our heritage which shows the long history of our country and the fine cultural traditions of our people.

In the past the Japanese imperialist aggressors damaged numerous historical remains all over our country and robbed large numbers of precious historical relics. But the new emerging generation did not see those enemies of our nation, those class enemies with their own eyes, so they have a very dim idea of how heinous and shameless the aggressors were. Therefore, with the help of the historical remains and relics we must clearly show the people, the new emerging generation in particular, the brilliant cultural traditions left by our ancestors and their patriotic spirit in courageously fighting back the foreign invaders.

It is therefore very important to restore all the historical remains which were ravaged by the Japanese imperialists and to unearth and restore those monuments which are still left unheeded. If

in future we unearth and restore all the historical remains in this place to their original state and demonstrate the fine cultural traditions of our nation, Mt. Taesong will become not only a good cultural recreation ground for the working people but also an excellent place to fill the people with national pride and patriotic spirit.

Taking advantage of this opportunity to build Taesongsan Pleasure Park, we should simultaneously dig up, restore and put the historical remains existing here in order. It is absolutely wrong to destroy historical remains in order to carry out construction work. Yet, we should not use historical remains as an excuse for delaying or halting an absolutely necessary construction project. When you undertake construction work in a place with historical remains, you should first organize a team such as a "historical remains unearthing corps" to dig up the relics before starting the work. Thus, you should both save the remains and carry out the construction project without any problems. If you are to map out a general plan for the construction of the pleasure park correctly and continue construction work properly, you should not fail to unearth the historical remains in advance. To me it seems necessary to form a "historical remains unearthing corps" with some 30 persons under the control of the Academy of Sciences, to do only such a job.

The workers concerned should make the general plan for the construction of Taesongsan Pleasure Park without delay through extensive consultations with scientists and students, and then start work.

As for the restoration of the historical remains, it should only be started after sufficient investigation and study of necessary scientific material are made. It will not be a good thing either to set up new things where there were no historical remains or to restore what existed before in a haphazard manner. In unearthing and restoring historical remains, we should also strictly observe the principles of our Party and working-class spirit, and principles based on historic facts.

It is desirable that you first unearth and restore the ancient tombs on Mt. Taesong on these principles. You should investigate and

unearth all tombs and then restore only typical ones to their original state and show them to the people. You should build a lawn over the tombs, plant many trees and grow thick foliage around them, make paths amongst them and build small pavilions for the convenience of the workers and students who go there to study and see the place.

In this connection, the stock farm situated in the tomb area should be moved to another place quickly.

The site of the Anhak Palace should also be restored. The present village located on the site should be transferred to another place and the whole site of the palace should be unearthed while its ancient buildings should be fully restored.

There are still remains of the old fortress walls on the mountain. So it is advisable that students of the history department of the University investigate and unearth the relics, restore some sections of the walls and repair the gate of the fortress to its original state. And the ancient pavilion which once stood on Jangsu Peak should also be rebuilt as it originally was.

It is said that there were ponds within the Taesongsan Mountain Fort. We can also say that these ponds are very important historical remains. In future you should locate and restore all these ancient ponds. When people go to a pleasure park or similar places, they will need much water. For the convenience of the working people who come here for recreation it is therefore necessary to find as many wellsprings as possible on Mt. Taesong and ensure enough water resources.

I have heard that many relics were dug out during construction of the road to Mt. Taesong. Those relics should be preserved well. In future we should build a museum there to exhibit the precious relics excavated in the area.

In order to build a good pleasure park on Mt. Taesong, many buildings should be erected. Buildings on Mt. Taesong should be erected in such a way as to harmonize with this historical place, in conformity with the traditions of the ancient architecture of our country. This should be done after locating and examining all the historical remains there. We should thus ensure that those who visit

the pleasure park can learn from our excellent traditional and ancient architecture. Needless to say, it will be difficult to do the job only with the efforts of builders. Scholars should also give great assistance in this work.

So far the University students have done a great deal of work to build Taesongsan Pleasure Park. But we have still got a long way to go to complete it satisfactorily. We should not only restore the historical remains to their original state in ancient times but also build new zoological and botanical gardens. So we can say that we have still more work to do than we have already done. It will be a good thing if the construction of the pleasure park is carried out by the University in future also.

It can be said that the construction work on Taesongsan Pleasure Park is a task most suitable for the University students. Unlike other pleasure parks, it is a project requiring comprehensive science and knowledge because historical relics should be excavated and restored to their original state, while geological investigations should also be carried out. Therefore, this job cannot be performed satisfactorily by any persons other than University students, whose studies cover the various fields of science. No one else but the students of the history department should tackle the job of excavating and restoring the cultural relics left behind by our ancestors. By nature, you should undertake the task to excavate the historical remains and, after examining them, you should also plan how to restore the site of the Anhak Palace, the ancient tombs, the mountain fortress walls, the gate of the fortress and the pavilions. This task cannot be fully accomplished only with the efforts of the few archaeologists we have at present.

And on the basis of studying the historical remains on Mt. Taesong, the students should write theses and also provide material for the education of the working people. This is beneficial both because their academic level will be improved through practice and because they will contribute to the construction of the pleasure park.

We should excavate and restore the historical remains on Mt. Taesong and build new zoological and botanical gardens there, and thus set up a pleasure park of which we could boast before the world.

EXCERPT FROM *TASKS OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IN RYANGGANG PROVINCE* (11 May 1958)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1983), 12.249–51.

The Cultural Revolution

We are now building socialism, and socialism is not confined to the construction of the economy. Along with economic construction, a cultural revolution is needed. And also, for the sake of economic construction, engineers with modern scientific knowledge and technology are urgently required. This makes it necessary to develop education.

Needless to say, we have so far striven vigorously to reshape the thinking of the people and create a new culture. But at present when socialist transformation in the economic field has been mostly completed, the cultural revolution comes to the fore as a very urgent task.

The most important thing in the cultural revolution is the introduction of universal compulsory junior-middle-school education. If all young people receive education up to the level of the secondary school graduate, this will be a great achievement in improving the cultural level of our people.

While introducing compulsory junior-middle-school education, we should ensure that everyone reaches the level of the primary or secondary school graduate in rural areas, not to mention wiping out illiteracy. Only then will you be able to solve the technical problems arising in the countryside.

Technology is a must both in growing flax widely and cultivating hops in future. When agricultural chemicals are supplied to the countryside, the peasants should know how to use them against all kinds of blights and noxious insects, and when fertilizers are supplied, they should know which fertilizer is good for the different types of soil. Therefore, if we are to intensify the socialist revolution

in towns and the country in future, we must carry out the cultural revolution.

Another important question in the cultural revolution is to ensure a cultural life for the people. In civilized countries people live in a clean environment and, as a result, they are healthy and enjoy a long life. However learned and experienced in technology, an unhealthy man will become useless and unable to enjoy a happy life.

In bygone days the feudal rulers of Korea gave no attention to the health of the people and the development of the physical strength of youths. When after the Meiji Restoration the Japanese were busy introducing the modern culture and improving the people's physical strength, the rulers of Korea passed their time doing nothing, sitting with horse-hair hats on, drinking liquor and reciting poems. So the country could not but be colonized.

Physical education for the people is a matter that must not be neglected. If an army is to perform its role properly, the soldiers should be strong, before anything else. An army should have the mastery of shooting skills and flexible tactics. But if its soldiers are weak physically, it cannot maneuver swiftly, nor can it approach the enemy, take enemy positions, and shoot enemy soldiers. Tactics, techniques and physical strength should be combined.

The same can be said for building the nation. Let us suppose that there is an excellent social system, enabling the people to act freely, while there are also advanced techniques. But if the people who are to manage the system and use the techniques are physically weak, how can they expect to live well? If everyone is shaky like an opium addict, there cannot be a socialist revolution, or anything else.

We should properly perform the work of health and sanitation and thus eliminate distoma and eradicate various infectious diseases as soon as possible. Some time ago the Presidium of the Party Central Committee discussed this problem. You will receive the decision and the directive on it within a few days.

You should properly organize the work of health and sanitation in a mass campaign in accordance with the decision of the Party Presidium. When I toured cooperatives, I found their

environmental arrangement and sanitation system unsatisfactory. I think it is advisable to establish the system of checking up on sanitation on a fixed cleaning day every month, by forming a sanitary inspection commission. You should thus establish the system of cleaning up the surroundings on a fixed day every month, and in a certain month every year.

In order to prevent infectious diseases you should keep wells clean, rebuild toilets, and build bathhouses in every village. Beginning with this kind of work, you should mend the houses properly and set up laundries to wash the clothes well.

It is a good thing to increase clinics and their beds in the countryside. But you should rather rebuild the toilets and set up bathhouses first. This is essential to wipe out infectious diseases. And a mass drive should be launched to destroy mice and flies.

Briefly, the cultural revolution should be carried out by raising the level of education and techniques and strengthening the work of health and sanitation.

EXCERPT FROM *ON SOME IMMEDIATE TASKS OF THE CITY AND COUNTY PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES* (9 Aug 1958)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1983), 12.359–62.

The cultural revolution should be carried out together with the technical revolution. With regard to the cultural revolution, some people think it is enough to sweep courtyards and kill flies. The main aims of the cultural revolution are to raise the educational, cultural and technical levels of the people. The main task of the cultural revolution today is to improve the standard of education of all the people to the level of primary school graduates, and that of primary school graduates to the level of secondary school graduates—not only in towns, but also in the countryside. Only by raising the cultural and technical levels of all the working people can we fully modernize our national economy and run it well. This is the only way to turn our country into a civilized one.

The officials of the Party and government organs, economic agencies and social organizations and People's Army officers should all improve their standard of education, at least above that of secondary school graduates and, furthermore, the level of education of all the people should be improved. To this end, the work of adult education should be further improved.

At the same time, adequate preparations should be made for the introduction of the compulsory secondary education system. We are going to introduce this education for the first time in Asia. This is a good thing. This system of education enables all youths to attend junior middle school.

And in future, all youths who finish junior middle school should be enrolled in technical schools. Technical schools are part of an effective educational system which gives the new generation skills in a definite branch of work and gives them general knowledge and vocational skills simultaneously by combining theory with practice.

Therefore, many technical schools in all sectors, particularly industry and agriculture, should be set up in towns and villages.

While raising the people's standard of education, activities by the amateur circles including physical training, dancing and music should be developed on a wide scale to enrich cultural life and foster optimism. In this respect, the democratic publicity hall should play an important role as the centre of cultural life in the countryside. But now these halls are not being run well. When I visited some of them, they had nothing but a few chairs in empty rooms.

Naturally, a democratic publicity hall should be kept in a sanitary and cultured way. It should have diagrams, wall newspapers, pictorials, magazines, games, etc., which will interest people and have educational value. Only then will the people go there voluntarily and see and learn new things. This is the only way to enable the democratic publicity hall to play its proper role in the cultural revolution.

The wisdom and power of the people of the ri should be taken full advantage of in cultural work in the countryside. Let me give you the example of a particular ri of Changsong County. It has 120 houses, 22 persons having a standard of education as that of secondary school graduates—11 teachers, as well as the ri Party committee chairman, ri people's committee chairman, chairman and chief accountant of the cooperative, and workers at the forestry station, road office and stores. If the ri Party organization mobilizes these people properly, it will be able to conduct both the work of adult education and the work of the democratic publicity hall in an effective manner. If the 120 houses are distributed among the 22 educated persons, each of them will be in charge of five or six houses. If they work hard for some three years, the cultural standard of all the people in the ri will be improved and their ideology will be changed considerably.

We asked the ri Party committee chairman if the committee had ever taken up this matter and given assignments to the officials as they were all under his control and belonged to the same Party organization. When we went to the primary school, we also met the teachers and asked them if they had ever offered their services to the

democratic publicity hall or for adult education. They all said no. The ri Party organization had not organized this kind of work. Cultural work in the countryside can be successfully carried out if the ri Party carries out organizational work.

The schools should play an important role in the cultural revolution in the countryside. We are at present failing to make good use of our student force. Through students, scientific education can be disseminated among parents, and socialist ideology can be instilled in them, while public sanitary work can also be performed properly.

Schools and students should give an example where hygiene is concerned. Still, when we visit schools, we can find pupils with long hair, dirty faces and clothes. This should not be tolerated any longer. If parents give just a little attention, they can see that their children's clothes are properly washed. When the pupils come to school in the morning, the teachers should see if they have washed their faces, cut their nails, and have clean clothes, and should give them proper guidance. But they are not doing this. Worse still, there are cases where the teacher himself goes to school without shaving, in unironed clothes, and with buttons missing on his clothes. Some school mistresses also go about with untidy hair and as dishevelled as a thicket. As long as things remain in such a state, neither culture nor the cultural revolution can be developed in our country.

Public sanitary work should be carried out in an effective manner. At present it is not being done properly, so it should be conducted in a better manner.

Recently, I visited Changsong County and discovered that the county people's committee had distributed lime and had the houses whitewashed all in one day. It is not wrong to do this, but all they did was only a facelifting, they did not plaster the interior. To do it in a good way, they should have cleaned up the houses from inside, papered the walls and whitewashed both the interior and exterior with lime. It is wrong to think that hygienic work means only sweeping the courtyard.

At present children's clothes are dirty. All grownups have their Sunday best, but their children do not. So, we are going to provide all pupils and students with uniforms next year.

Along with the building of modern dwellings, the construction work on bathhouses, nurseries, laundries, etc., should be stepped up. We should limit women's household chores so that they would be able to go to work. To this end, it is essential to set up nurseries and laundries. I have seen the washing machines made at the Kanggye Machine Factory and they are very useful. They can wash about 30 pieces of clothing at a time in just a few minutes. It will be a good thing if each agricultural cooperative has such a washing machine.

ON WAGING A VIGOROUS STRUGGLE AGAINST REMNANTS OF OLD IDEOLOGIES AMONG WRITERS AND ARTISTS (14 Oct 1958)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1983), 12.486–93.

Under the correct guidance and utmost care of the Party, our writers and artists have so far achieved great success in developing socialist literature and art. The Party Central Committee is overjoyed at this and highly appreciates their achievements.

Today I am going to speak about making a vigorous effort to uproot the remnants of old ideologies among writers and artists.

The socialist reorganization of old relations of production has been completed in our country, with the result that today the socialist relations of production hold undivided sway in towns and the countryside and a great revolutionary upsurge is taking place in socialist construction. Innovations and miracles are occurring frequently every day and steady progress is being made in all fields of the national economy.

Today when the socialist system has been established completely, to eradicate the surviving thoughts of capitalism from the working people and equip them with communist ideology is a basic duty and a pressing task confronting us. Without intensifying communist education we cannot consolidate and develop the triumphant socialist system and construct communism.

Today the great majority of writers and artists, armed with our Party's ideology, are closely united around the Party Central Committee and are devoting all their talents and energies to the struggle for the Party and the people and for the building of socialism and communism. However, some writers and artists still retain, to a considerable degree, old ideological remnants which are alien to our Party's idea, communist ideology.

Outdated thoughts are surviving among writers and artists and are found, first of all, in egoistic and stardom-seeking activities. Some

of them only feel pleased when they are praised or awarded a prize and are not happy if they are ignored.

Such an instance can be seen in an artist who poses as an "authority on dance."

The Party has given her a lot of guidance and assistance coupled with a feeling of care and love. She should therefore work much harder for the Party and the people. However, the more money she is paid and the more awards and praise she receives, the happier she is, but, if she receives anything less, she complains and makes severe criticisms. She has gone as far as to openly complain about the Party for not having published newspaper comments on her works.

I am told that she presumes that she alone is of excellent calibre and has given prominence to herself to such an extent that the art of dancing in Korea could make no progress without her. In our country a dependable, talented reserve force of literature and art is growing and new artists are making steady progress under the care of the Party. We can produce as many excellent dancing works as we want and develop our art of dancing without her. It is a very grave mistake to take dancing as something mysterious and to think that only specific people can dance. Communists deny mystery. Dances depict thoughts, emotions and the lives of people by means of artistic, rhythmical movements. Therefore, there is nothing mysterious about them. Anyone can produce excellent dancing works if only he or she makes a deep study of vibrant realities and is prepared for untiring effort.

Practices of seeking personal interests and fame are revealed not only by this dancer but also by other artists.

To feel oneself flattered by praises and selfishly to want only to gain awards, is an egoistic and absolutely profiteering attitude which has nothing to do with communist ideology. Under our socialist system today we can never tolerate such behaviour as placing personal interests and fame above the interests of the Party and the revolution. Our people love the artists who dance and sing for the Party and the revolution. They do not love those who have a capitalist smell, that is to say, those who dance and sing for their

personal interests and careers. The artists who are disliked by the people are useless to us.

More surviving examples of old ideologies among writers and artists are seen in latitudinarian acts and an unwillingness to follow the Party's guidance with sincerity.

Among some writers and artists there are undisciplined instances of wanting to do things their own way. They become annoyed at the Party's guidance and just criticism, and are reluctant to follow the leadership of the Party.

Because the dance drama *Tale of Paek Hyang* had many shortcomings with unfavourable comments from spectators, the Party gave its opinion. The dance director of this work should accept the Party's just criticism and the masses' opinions with an open mind and proceed to examine her work. Instead of doing this, however, she is criticizing the Party's policy on literature and art and its guidance, being very displeased with its opinion.

Such an act of hers is not accidental. For a long time she has been imbued with capitalist ideas, and her arrogant behaviour is a result of this.

We have educated her patiently for 13 long years, hoping that she would discard capitalist ideological residues and become an artist serving the Party, the revolution and the people. Betraying the Party's trust and solicitude, however, she has gone much farther along the road differing from the one that the Party wanted her to take. To eradicate the remaining capitalist ideological thoughts from her mind, and in order to remould her, people in the sphere of literature and art should give her principled, comradely assistance and wage a resolute ideological struggle.

A latitudinarian act also appeared in the course of making the feature film *Flames*.

This is a badly misleading film which defiles our workers who are striving devotedly for socialist construction. Writers and artists should keenly realize what a great influence their writings and other works will exert on the people, and should have a high sense of responsibility for it. However, the scenarist of the *Flames* inserted

into the film the subject matter of another work which had been already criticized a few years ago. This is a conscienceless and immensely irresponsible act. The Party had criticized this previously, but the staff still produced and released the film without due revision in accordance with the Party's opinion. This is an incorrect attitude towards the Party.

These undisciplined practices, though revealed only among a limited number of writers and artists, greatly hinder the strengthening of unity and cohesion of the Party, and the establishment of the Party's ideological system among them.

We should oppose these practices totally and establish revolutionary discipline and order in the sphere of literature and art.

It can be said that a Marxist-Leninist party owes its very existence to rigorous revolutionary discipline and order. Only when one million Party members act as one man under the leadership of the Party Central Committee will our Party be able to perform its part well as a vanguard detachment, that is, an advanced detachment of the working class which will correctly guide the revolutionary work. When the Party ranks fail to act as one, the Party will hardly be able to fulfil its duty and carry on the revolutionary work properly. As in all other spheres, so in the sphere of literature and art, the leadership of the Party should be intensified. Writers and artists should rely entirely on the Party in their work and receive its guidance with sincerity.

Now it is necessary for me to refer to the nepotic practices that are seen among writers and artists.

Since we were aware that there were nepotic practices among writers and artists, we have already urged Party organizations to educate them and ensure that they drop these habits. Among some of them, however, these practices are still manifested. Other serious defects still persisting among writers and artists are mainly due to the fact that some of them are conniving at each other's defects, being unable to free themselves from the framework of nepotism.

You should be ready to fight that person who acts against the Party's ideas, no matter how intimate you may be with him. You

should not make friends with people who have wrong ideas and when unhealthy ideological elements are manifested in your friend's mind, you should advise and correct him before it's too late. You should abandon the old habit of converging at bars with people of similar thinking where you would drink and criticize others. In his self-criticism a comrade resolved to get out of the pit of nepotism. He should do so, as a matter of course.

What, then, are the main reasons for the fact that old ideological remnants have not yet disappeared among writers and artists and that some have even ideologically degenerated?

First of all, Party organizations in the sphere of literature and art have not waged a determined ideological struggle to uproot capitalist thinking surviving among writers and artists.

In the past these Party organizations fought successfully against the reactionary writers such as Rim Hwa and Ri Thae Jun. However, they failed to closely combine this fight with the effort for eradicating the capitalist ideologies remaining in the minds of writers and artists. When fighting to liquidate the reactionary writers who had wormed their way into the sphere of literature and art, Party organizations in this sphere ought to have been highly vigilant against the surviving capitalist ideologies among writers and artists and to have waged a resolute war against them. But they confined themselves to the struggle against a few reactionary writers and paid little attention to the problem of weeding out the remnants of capitalist ideologies from the minds of writers and artists.

Another reason why the surviving thoughts are not extracted from the minds of writers and artists is that they themselves do not strive to eliminate these lingering ideas. In the past years they did not strive to examine their own ideological life for themselves and wipe out the remains of old thought processes.

In order to build up the ranks of writers and artists, a vigorous ideological struggle should be centred towards them in order to do away with all manifestations of surviving outdated ideas.

Party organizations in the sphere of literature and art should, before anything else, unfold a resolute ideological struggle against

egoism, stardom-seeking, latitudinarianism and nepotism among writers and artists.

Writers and artists should take an active part in the ideological struggle to uproot living capitalist ideas. All of them should examine frankly their own work and criticize their life according to the standard of Party policy, as if looking at the scars on their faces reflected in the mirror.

The ideological struggle aims neither to purge people from the revolutionary ranks nor to bury them socially in oblivion. Without a struggle there can be no progress. Only through the strenuous ideological struggle will writers and artists be able to make progress in their ideological life and creative activities. We instruct them to take up an ideological struggle because we love them, and it is an expression of the Party's deep trust and care for them. They should have a clear understanding of the Party's intentions and carry out intensive ideological struggle in connection with the work of discussing the recent letter from the Party Central Committee to all the Party members.

You should not take this struggle against the capitalist ideological remnants as a temporary undertaking but continue with it vigorously without laxity until they are completely destroyed.

While waging the ideological battle, writers and artists should go to factories, rural villages and other sites of vibrant socialist construction to learn from the realities of life and train themselves. If sensitive writers and artists visit these pulsating realities, they will learn a great deal from the devoted working people who are striving to implement Party policies and build socialism.

Writers and artists should go to factories and farm villages to learn from the working people their boundless loyalty to the Party and the revolution and their indomitable revolutionary spirit and, meanwhile, they should energetically propagate our Party's policies to them. This is the way to serve the Party and the people.

Writers and artists should eliminate indolence and laxity and work and live in a more tense manner.

At present all the people are filled with creative enthusiasm and miracles and innovations are being created daily on all fronts of socialist construction. Our working class is rendering heroic services in building modern blast furnaces out of nothing but ashes and turning out molten iron solely by its own efforts. It is a shame for writers and artists to drink and live in leisure at a time when the whole country is seething with a massive revolutionary upsurge.

The present situation does not allow writers and artists to do so. The US imperialists still remain in one half of our country and national reunification is at present nonexistent. At the instigation of the US imperialist aggressors their stooges are bent on war preparations in order to invade the northern half of Korea. We should construct much more and advance much faster if our country is to be reunified.

All writers and artists must lead an intense life as fighters in literature and art, in this era of socialism and revolution, and should bring about innovations in their creative activities.

In conclusion, I want to speak briefly on the point that writers and artists should defend the Party Central Committee politically and ideologically.

Every Party member, whoever he may be, should defend the Party Central Committee. As for the practices of criticizing the Party's policies and opposing the Party Central Committee, all Party organizations and members should wage a strong struggle against them, and obligatorily report these practices to the Central Committee. As for those who criticize the Party in secret and behave towards it in a dubious way, all Party members in the sphere of literature and art, and the writers and artists should never overlook them, but deliver a decisive blow to them as soon as possible.

The Science and School Education Department of the Party Central Committee, the Ministry of Education and Culture, and the Writers' Union should wage a resolute war among writers and artists against those who criticize the Party policy in secret and who undermine the ideological, purposeful unity within the Party.

I am firmly convinced that writers and artists will achieve great success in their efforts to implement the Party's policy on literature and art by weeding out the old ideological remnants and fully arming themselves with our Party's ideas.

ON COMMUNIST EDUCATION (20 Nov 1958)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1983), 12.512–34.

Today I would like to talk on the economic situation in our country, particularly on the future prospects for economic development and on the question of communist ideological education which emerges as an important task in accelerating socialist construction.

As you all know, our country is now witnessing a great upsurge in the building of socialism. And the upsurge continues. Following the letter sent to members by the September Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee, all Party members and working people are forging ahead in the spirit of the Chollima riders to carry out all the tasks set forth by the Party more quickly and efficiently. Indeed never before in the history of Korea have we seen an occasion when all the working people moved rapidly ahead with such a spirit towards the high peak of socialism at the speed of Chollima.

This spirit of ours is becoming a great force which cannot be broken. It demonstrates that all the people, united behind our Party in a body, move forward determinedly despite all difficulties to answer the Party's call.

We are now carrying out the Five-Year Plan for the first time in our country's history. We have made great achievements in the first two years of this plan. In 1957, industrial output was 44 per cent higher than in the previous year. This year it will increase by 35 to 36 per cent over last year. Indeed, there is hardly any precedent for such a high rate of growth.

If we keep advancing at this rate, we can fulfil the Five-Year Plan for industry next year. While discussing the Party Central Committee's letter, our working people have resolved to try to more than double productivity in all sectors. Next year, if we achieve a 50 to 60 per cent increase in industrial output, as compared with this

year, we will by far exceed the 1961 production level envisaged in the Five-Year Plan.

As I have always said, we must advance faster than other people because we have so far lived in poverty.

At a time when other people had already carried out a bourgeois revolution and were building a technically developed, rich and strong country, our forefathers were still riding donkeys, wearing horse-hair hats, and idling their time away reciting poems and drinking wine. While others were building factories, manufacturing goods and developing productive forces, our forefathers lagged behind, following the plough as they had done for hundreds of years. Our forefathers left us only a heritage of backwardness and poverty.

Wherever you go in European countries you will find good roads and even most rural people living in brick houses. The reason for this is that these countries have long since developed their culture and productive forces.

However, we have had to live in shabby hovels, from one generation to the other. Our ancestors could neither exploit mineral resources nor build a factory for themselves. Our country remained so poor and backward that it fell under the dominance of the Japanese imperialists.

It was obviously impossible to think that the Japanese imperialists should work in the interests of the Koreans. They built factories and railways by exploiting all the resources of Korea. They did so only to exploit and plunder the Korean people, and not for the benefit of Koreans.

The Korean people, subjected to humiliation and destitute lives, began to work with more energy and courage when they took power into their own hands and were in a position to shape their own destiny after liberation. And why not? Yet, a certain factional element attributed the gallantry of the Korean people in war to stolidity and their tremendous efforts in construction to ignorance. This is an intolerable insult to our people.

You should know that even though they were in need in the past, Koreans are very intelligent people. What reasons have we got

to say this? Their knowledge is not vague. Rather, it is as clear as a letter written on a clean, white sheet of paper. The Koreans, therefore, perfectly understand the things they have learned. As they have known poverty, the Korean people also have a desire to learn more than others.

Although we were once poorly dressed and lived in shabby hovels, our ideology is as progressive as that of other people; we are more determined to advance faster and have a very strong revolutionary will to do away with the old and acquire the new. It is by no means by chance that we are advancing so rapidly today.

The people of fraternal countries who were liberated about the same time as ourselves, are already carrying out their third five-year plan.

Formerly our country was backward and, to make things worse, it suffered utter devastation in all fields during the three-year war. Thus we lagged farther behind others.

Under these circumstances, we hope to attain, in two five-year plans, the level fraternal countries plan to reach after fulfilling three of their five-year plans, so that we will catch up with them. Judging from the present enthusiasm of Party members and all the working people in their struggle, we should be able to realize our wishes.

Our rate of economic development is incomparably faster than that in capitalist countries. Let me recall an interesting fact.

Japan underwent a bourgeois revolution by accomplishing the Meiji Restoration; it became a civilized country before others, and for a time occupied our country. The Japanese imperialists used five-round magazine rifles when they invaded our country, but we could not make even a matchlock properly at that time. When the Japanese were building locomotives and freight cars and other modern machines, our forefathers were still travelling on donkeys. But all this is a thing of the past now.

What is happening today? Next year, we will be fully able to catch up with Japan in per-capita output of major manufactured goods.

In 1957 the per-capita output of electric power in Japan was 853 kWh. But we will produce 850 to 900 kWh per person next year. In other words, we will surpass Japan in power production.

Japan's output of coal is an average of 568 kilogrammes for each member of the population. This year our per-capita output is already 690 kilogrammes. We plan to produce 9 million tons of coal next year. This means a production of 900 kilogrammes per person.

The same can be said for pig iron. Japan's per-capita output of pig iron is 75 kilogrammes, whereas our figure will rise to 80 to 90 kilogrammes next year.

Japan's per-capita output of cement is 167 kilogrammes. Next year, we will produce about 2 million tons of cement. The production volume of the Ministry of Chemical Industry alone will reach an average of 180 kilogrammes per person. So we will also surpass Japan in cement production.

In the output of textiles, we still lag behind Japan. But in a few years we will be able to surpass Japan in this field as well.

From all this, it is clear that we have already caught up with or surpassed Japan in the per-capita output of the greater part of major industrial products with the exception of some light industry products.

Japan, of course, has things that are better than ours. It is true that her machine-building industry is on the whole more developed than ours. But we will catch up with Japan before long in that industry as well.

As you all know, we have already started producing our own lorries, tractors, excavators and many other machines and ships. We have already laid the foundations for the machine-building industry.

Our machine-building industry has much better prospects for development than that in Japan. Her machine-building industry is at a rather high level now, but its development is bound to be greatly slowed down due to restrictions in securing raw materials and the backwardness of the country's social system. Our conditions, however, are very favourable in comparison with those in Japan. We have an excellent socialist system, our people's incomparably strong

determination to move forward, and an abundance of iron, nonferrous metals and other necessary raw materials. Therefore, there is no doubt that we will soon catch up with Japan in the machine-building industry as well.

It is really wonderful that we are catching up with and surpassing Japan, which once dreamt of conquering the whole of Asia and extending her claws of aggression even as far as the Soviet Union.

Today, our country is neither a backward feudal state nor a colonial agricultural country. It is a socialist state with an independent national industry. One more leap forward now, and we will be able to accomplish socialist industrialization in the near future.

In agriculture, we have also achieved a great victory. Socialist transformation of agriculture is one of the most difficult tasks in the socialist revolution. Nevertheless, we have smoothly accomplished agricultural cooperativization in a short time, and without any hitch—though, of course, not without a class struggle.

As you all know, the northern half of Korea, a limited area of land, and infertile at that, was a region that faced food shortage from olden times. But now we can fully produce our own food to satisfy our needs despite our small area of land, as a result of extensive nature-remaking projects and positive efforts to develop agricultural production. Thus, we have converted the northern half of Korea from a zone of food shortages into a self-sufficient one. This is a great victory for us.

We have really done a great deal in the agricultural sector. We have carried out large-scale irrigation projects, converting poorly irrigated rice paddy fields into fully irrigated ones. Even now we continue to energetically push ahead with these projects. We have already set up firm foundations for the production of grain and industrial crops.

In the early post-armistice days, poor peasants accounted for about 40 per cent of all the peasant households. But now the question concerning poor peasants has been completely solved. As for cooperatives with weak economic foundations, research carried out

by the Ministry of Procurement and Food Administration shows that they may have a shortage of only some 40,000 tons of the total grain they need, after delivering grain to the state and setting aside provisions, seed grain, grain to be exchanged for fertilizer and grain for common funds.

In the past it was common even amongst middle peasants in the mountainous regions to run out of provisions for one or two months in the spring. In fact according to this standard, there are today no poor peasants at all in our countryside. Strictly speaking, the living standard of nearly all our peasants has now reached the level of the middle peasant.

In future we must improve the peasants' living standard so that it will be better than that of the well-to-do middle peasant. That is the goal set by our Party. It can be attained after another few years of work. All the victories mentioned above were achieved in only five years after the war.

After the armistice, we accomplished the Three-Year Plan on the ruins of the war. In the subsequent two years we have fought a hard battle to fulfil the Five-Year Plan. The result is that our country has been turned, within a few years, into a self-reliant industrial-agricultural state. This is certainly a great unprecedented victory in the history of our nation.

How could we achieve such great victory?

We can attribute it first of all to the correct leadership of the Central Committee of our Party and to the correct economic policy of the Party. The victory has been possible only because all the people, upholding the policies of our Party and united behind the Party Central Committee and the Government of the Republic, have destroyed both local and foreign enemies.

At one time anti-Party factionalists were very critical of the correct policies of our Party. There were many people inside and outside the Party who tried to find faults. When our Party first established the policy of giving priority to the growth of heavy industry while, at the same time, developing light industry and agriculture, we heard all sorts of comments. They raised a hue and

cry; certain people remarked, for example, that we were very reckless to try to carry out, on the ruins of war, such a new line of socialist construction unheard-of in any other country. Others remarked that we were only concerned with building factories while ignoring the immediate difficulties in the people's life. They asked how machines could give them food.

As a matter of fact, you cannot say that a machine does not give us food. Yet the anti-Party elements could not and did not want to see this. This was why they opposed the correct policies of the Party. In their attempt to alienate the Party from the masses anti-Party factionalists spread many malignant rumours at a critical moment when the people's living conditions were most difficult.

The building of socialism in the countryside was also widely slandered. Some people questioned the feasibility of our plan to transform the countryside along socialist lines during the Five-Year Plan period. But the fact is that it was accomplished in the first two years of the Five-Year Plan.

Others doubted that private trade and industry could be transformed through cooperativization. But this task has also been carried out very rapidly and smoothly.

We have recently noticed some fear growing amongst so-called educated men about machinery. These people asked how we could produce machines, such as lorries and tractors that seemed so mysterious. But the Party, ignoring their insistence, eliminated such fear. The result is that lorries, tractors, excavators and many other machines are being produced at an amazing rate.

We can attribute all our achievements to the fact that all the people, upholding the correct policies of our Party, repulsed both local and foreign enemies and implemented the Party lines, eliminating all sorts of erroneous tendencies such as conservatism and mystification that stood in the way of our progress. No one can disclaim the historic victory achieved by our Party.

We have thus won a great victory. But the Party always teaches all its members and the working people not to be carried away by victory. The Party calls for continuous and faster progress for new,

greater victories. Thus, the September Plenary Meeting of the Party Central Committee appealed in its letter to all Party members for greater strides forward towards an even more magnificent victory.

What is the most important task set forth in the letter of the Party Central Committee?

The primary task is to fulfil the Five-Year Plan one and a half years ahead of schedule. Now all Party members, who have risen in response to the letter of the Party Central Committee, are determined to fulfil the Five-Year Plan, not one year and a half but two years ahead of schedule.

In the industrial sector, the letter calls for a struggle to create solid material and technological foundations for socialism by further stepping up socialist industrialization. And it has set out the tasks of producing, within the next six to seven years, 20,000 million kWh of electricity, 3 to 3.5 million tons of steel, 4 million tons of cement, 2 million tons of fertilizer, 400 million metres of textiles and 25 million tons of coal. The letter has also set out the task to manufacture by ourselves all the machines we need in large quantities, with the exception of some special kinds.

To build a socialist society we must, before anything else, step up industrialization and lay the strong material and technological foundations for socialism. To this end, we should increase the production of electricity, pig iron, cement, fertilizer and various types of machines and textiles. We cannot attain this target without accelerating industrialization. The Party Central Committee's letter made an appeal to all the members of the Party with this in mind.

In agriculture, we plan to go on vigorously setting up irrigation projects. Irrigation forms the basis for the technological reconstruction of agriculture in our country. Our country now has only about 1.8 million hectares of cultivated land, apart from that used for various other purposes. Our plan is to irrigate most of the rice paddies and dry fields, except those on hillsides, and to transform our agriculture into an advanced one, free from crop failures.

The next task is the supply of electricity to rural areas. We must see to it that every village has electric light and radios. Radios

in every village will mean that we will be accelerating the fulfilment of the tasks of cultural revolution by constantly making music, arts and other cultural activities more popular, in addition to political and scientific knowledge. Electrification will also make work more simple. Electricity can be used for operating threshers and pumping water.

Electrification in rural areas has already started to change the face of the country. It is being extended quickly even in mountainous areas like Jagang Province. Osudok in this province is the highest mountain village. In bygone days people used to carry young calves up there on their backs and bred them as draught animals. According to today's newspapers, a wind energy station has been set up in Osudok, the well-known mountain village in Jagang Province. This is indeed a wonderful thing.

The last important task is rural mechanization. We plan to send 30,000 to 35,000 tractors and 25,000 to 30,000 lorries to the countryside within the coming four to five years. Next year we will send a total of 5,000 tractors and 2,500 lorries, made both locally and in other countries, to our farm villages.

The whole Party must be mobilized to carry out irrigation, electricity projects and mechanization in the countryside. When this is done, we will be able to harvest more than 7 million tons of grain, and produce industrial crops, such as cotton, castor beans and flax, in large quantities.

Now that the grain question has been solved, we are confronted with the task of meeting the people's need for animal products. The recent enlarged meeting of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Party took strict measures to supply the people with enough meat, milk and eggs.

Along with stockbreeding, we must also develop fruit growing so that people will have a lot of fruit. We should continue to give wide publicity to our plan to expand the orchard area to 100,000 hectares. A one-hectare orchard will give us at least 10 tons of fruit. If we harvest 10 tons from each hectare of orchards, the output from 100,000 hectares will be one million tons. This means an average of

100 kilogrammes of fruit per person. Then we must also produce wine and fruit juices as well.

When we carry out all these plans in the near future, our country will be an ideal place to live in. Some time ago I told our comrades that our country, although not very big, has fertile land and a mild climate, and therefore, taking this into account, we should measure land not by the square metre but by the cubic metre.

What will our position be when we have mechanized and automated industry on a large scale to sharply increase productive forces in this sector, and when we have introduced irrigation, electricity and mechanization in agriculture and extensively developed not only grain production but also livestock breeding and fruit growing? When we do that we can say that we will have completed the building of a socialist society. If we continue to work hard for a year or two, and accomplish these tasks in six or seven years, we will be able to reach the high peak of socialism.

In order to do this as early as possible, it is necessary to firmly inspire the working masses with communist ideology. Unless we provide a thorough ideological education, and unless we wage resolute ideological struggle, we will not be able to ensure the advance of the revolution nor consolidate the victories achieved so far.

We must destroy the remnants of obsolete feudal and capitalist ideologies which still remain in the minds of the working masses.

The revolution we are carrying out is precisely a struggle to eliminate all that is outdated and to create new things. The struggle between the new and the old, between progress and conservatism, between activity and passivity, between collectivism and individualism, and in general between socialism and capitalism—such is the content of our revolutionary struggle. The struggle for socialist construction will be victorious only when we get rid of all outdated and corrupt things that stand in our way.

We are now moving forward at the speed of Chollima, but old things are holding us back. We are eager to make progress every day

and every hour, but conservatives are putting obstacles in our way. We are eager to actively push ahead all our work, but passive elements are trying to dampen our enthusiasm and spirit. We are willing to live in the spirit of collectivism, but individualism is undermining our common cause.

All these are the evil consequences of a capitalist ideology. Unless we wipe out this ideological poison, we cannot attain our great goal of transforming the old society and building socialism and communism.

It is essential to inspire all the working people with communist ideology in order to eliminate the remnants of the outdated capitalist ideology and push the revolutionary upsurge even higher. This is the main task before all our Party members, in particular the information and motivation workers at present.

Syngman Rhee calls us "Reds." Let him say what he wants.

We do not deny that we are Red. We are neither black nor grey. We are Red people. We want all the working people to be "dyed" in one colour—revolutionary red—and we are striving to attain this. The more the enemy fears the "Reds", the more it is necessary to make all our working people Red from top to bottom, or in other words, to inspire them with communist ideology.

What things, then, should we stress in this ideological education?

It is important, first of all, to make the working people fully aware of the superiority of socialism and communism over capitalism.

Capitalist society is "heaven" for a handful of exploiters and oppressors, but it is "hell" for the overwhelming majority of the population, the exploited and oppressed working people.

For example, what kind of country is the United States, the most developed capitalist country? The United States produces large quantities of goods, but its working people lose their jobs and suffer hunger precisely because their production is so high. Such a society cannot exist for a long time. The exploiters and oppressors are trying to defend this society. But despite all the means they may use, they

can never stop the struggle of millions of working people to free themselves from that "hell."

In socialist society, newly built after the overthrow of capitalism, there is no exploitation of man by man; the interests of that society are fundamentally the same as those of the individual. Every person devotedly works for his own happiness and for social prosperity, thus achieving the rapid growth of social production and the all-round development of culture unprecedented in history. We must make the working people fully aware of the superiority of socialism over capitalism.

Making a comparison between the northern half of Korea and the southern half will provide a good contrast between socialism and capitalism. Early this year a passenger plane flew here from south Korea. A stewardess on the plane made some very interesting remarks. She said that in Pyongyang she could note that everyone could have a job, no one had to worry about food and clothings as long as one worked and all the people had plain clothes with no discernible difference amongst them. The stewardess also said that she saw women going to factories in the morning and that, although "luxurious" goods were not to be found in the markets, there were plenty of goods such as ordinary cloth, grains, etc. This girl from south Korea must have been thoroughly imbued with bourgeois ideology, yet she could clearly spot these things in the northern half.

But what is the situation in Seoul? There are plenty of expensive goods that enable the rich to live in luxury, corruption and debauchery. On the other hand, over 4 million unemployed and part-time workers and hundreds of thousands of orphans are wandering in the streets in search of food. According to an article that appeared in Tonga Ilbo some time ago, there are between 160,000 and 200,000 child beggars in North Kyongsang Province alone.

Thus by comparing the situation in the northern half with that in the southern half, we can clearly show the advantages of the socialist system in the northern half. If we ask our working people which they prefer, the capitalist system under which only a handful of exploiters get all the food and clothes they want while the great

majority of the people suffer cold and starvation, or the socialist system under which all the people work and live in comfort, they will be able to reach their own clear conclusions.

Only when they are educated in this way will the working people be inspired to defend the socialist system, develop it further and advance towards a communist society.

It is also necessary to teach them the truth, that the new will certainly win and the old will ruin.

Socialism represents the new. Therefore, its forces, which are insignificant at first, are certain to prevail soon over the outdated, corrupt capitalist forces in accordance with the law for social development. The whole history of socialism—its emergence, development and victory—eloquently bears witness to this truth.

The Communist Party was not very strong when the great Lenin first organized it. But the Communist Party educated and organized the Russian working class and labouring masses into an invincible revolutionary force and finally overthrew tsarism and founded the world's first socialist state.

Up until World War II the Soviet Union was the only socialist state.

The armed forces of imperialist countries, such as Germany, Japan and Italy, seemed at first to be strong when they were desperately attacking that socialist country. But in the end they were defeated and the Soviet Union achieved a great historic victory. This was because the Soviet Union, the new-born force representing the future, enjoyed the support of progressive people all over the world, who were striving for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism, whereas the fascist troops were isolated from the great majority of the people.

It is a strict law of social development that the capitalist system, which has its days counted, is destined to give way to a new and progressive socialist system, just as the outdated feudal society had collapsed and a new capitalist society had emerged and developed. According to this same law, US imperialism, which still seems powerful today, is doomed to collapse before long.

Let us recall the history of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle in Korea. What were the convictions of the Korean communists in their fight? Though a very weak force compared with the powerful Japanese imperialism, the communists, as a new force representing the long-cherished desire of the people and justice, fought hard despite all difficulties because they counted on the support of the masses of the people and on solidarity with the revolutionary forces all over the world and were firmly convinced that outdated and corrupt Japanese imperialism would inevitably collapse. Finally the Japanese imperialists were defeated and Korea was liberated.

After liberation, the US imperialists, taking the place of the Japanese imperialists, also invaded Korea, but the Korean communists were never afraid of them. Even when allied forces from 16 countries, with US imperialism as their ringleader, invaded the northern half of Korea, the members of our Workers' Party did not waver at all. They were firmly convinced that the Korean people, who had risen in defence of their socialist motherland and enjoyed the powerful support of the socialist camp and peace-loving people of the world, would certainly emerge victorious, and that US imperialism, isolated from the people of the world, would inevitably suffer defeat. The US imperialists were eventually defeated in the war and were forced to sign the Armistice Agreement.

Needless to say, we did not fight alone but fought side by side with the Chinese people. Compared with the United States, China was also weak in armaments even though she had a larger population. Nevertheless, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China, newly-established forces full of vitality, defeated the old and corrupt US imperialist forces of aggression.

Therefore, the purpose of our study of the revolutionary traditions, is to inherit the high spirit of the Korean communists who valiantly fought against formidable Japanese imperialism in the past, strictly abiding by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and remaining firmly convinced of final victory.

Another important factor in communist education is to combat individualism and selfishness, which are major obstacles in the reorganization of society along communist lines.

Individualism and selfishness obstruct the consolidation of socialist ownership, i.e., collective ownership and ownership by all the people. They hinder our struggle for the establishment of widespread communist ownership, that is, ownership by all the people. Cooperativization in the countryside has now been completed, but it does not mean the attainment of our ultimate goal. For the building of communism, which is our final objective, we have to make another step forward and bring the cooperative economy up to the level of ownership by all the people. The process of such a development by society cannot be successfully intensified without overcoming selfishness and individualism, the remnants of the obsolete capitalist ideology.

It goes without saying that the struggle against individualism and selfishness is important in safeguarding socialist gains and in consolidating the already triumphant socialist system. People must be educated to protect cooperative and state property better than their own. We often witness cases of total indifference towards safeguarding socialist property or even cases of violations against it, in the interests of individuals. All these are the evil remnants of capitalist ideology which cannot be tolerated.

Another important question in communist ideological education is to inspire the working people with the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

They must be taught to love their socialist motherland where all the working people now lead a good life and will be even better off in future. This should begin with love for their workplaces, villages and towns where they can live and work happily in peace, free from exploitation, under a socialist system built with their own sweat and blood.

Furthermore, we must ensure that our people’s love for their country will lead them to love all countries of the socialist camp which are in the same situation; we must teach them to love all

working people in the world who fight for freedom and happiness, just as we do. We should also teach the people that the international interests of the working class in all lands can be defended only when they have boundless love for their socialist motherland and do their utmost to strengthen its power.

When the working people are in power, the patriotic service towards one's country is exactly identical with proletarian internationalism. A working man who devotedly tries to build his socialist hometown or village can, at the same time, be an ardent patriot for his socialist country and, furthermore, an internationalist fighter for the common interests of the whole socialist camp and of the working class all over the world. Thus the necessity of educating everyone as a fighter who battles ruthlessly against an enemy that is attempting to encroach upon our happy native places, our socialist system and our socialist motherland, and who firmly defends the gains of socialism, a fighter who wages an uncompromising struggle against those who infringe upon the interests of the working people of the world.

Yet another important factor in communist education is to inspire the people with the spirit of love for work.

Labour creates the wealth of human society and is the source of the welfare of mankind.

An idle life was regarded as honourable under the system of exploitation in the past. But it is a very shameful thing under our socialist system which has the principle, "He who does not work shall not eat." In a society where exploitation is rampant, work is regarded as mean and toilsome drudgery, but in a socialist society it has become the greatest honour and pleasure.

A person who doesn't work is a parasite living at the expense of others. In order to step up the Chollima march which is now giving encouragement to the whole country, we should launch an ideological struggle against able-bodied people who hang about doing nothing among our ranks.

We also should educate the working people in the spirit of continuous revolution, in the revolutionary spirit of steady advance and continuous change.

Our revolution demands uninterrupted advance. We cannot rest on our laurels with the fulfilment of one revolutionary task. We must set forth and accomplish one task after another. The victory we have already achieved serves to prepare us for a bigger victory tomorrow, as a basis for further advancement.

The completion of socialist construction in the northern half will not mean the end of our work. There still remain the tasks of reunifying the country and then carrying out democratic reforms such as agrarian reform and the nationalization of industries in south Korea. The fulfilment of the tasks of democratic revolution in the southern half should be followed by the continuing task of building socialism, and after the completion of socialist construction, our country will gradually have to move ahead towards communism. Only when all these tasks are carried out with success will we be able to say that we have fulfilled our duties in the world revolution. For this reason, communist education in the northern half should always be carried out in conjunction with the task of reunifying the country. We must stress the idea that socialist construction in the northern half is the guarantee for the reunification of the country.

In this way, all the working people must be turned into ardent builders of socialism and communism, communist fighters fully inspired by Red ideology.

In my opinion, this should be the basis for communist education, designed to accelerate socialist construction.

Our country has an advantage as far as ideological work among the working people is concerned. Unlike Europe, our country affords no ideological ground for Right-wing social democracy, which splits the ranks of the working class and paralyses its class consciousness with bourgeois ideology. This is a favourable condition which will make ideological work in our country comparatively less complicated.

With regard to communist education, I would like to mention the technical and cultural revolutions, which are the most important tasks in the building of socialism in our country today.

At present one of our most important slogans is: "All working people, learn technology and create new techniques!" If the working people are to embrace communist ideology and learn technology and create new techniques, their cultural standard must be improved. Our aim today is to wipe out ignorance in our country and educate everyone at least to the level of a middle school graduate. This is essential for improving the technical skills of the working people and inspiring them more quickly and more thoroughly with communist ideology.

From this it follows that our information and motivation workers should take an active part in the cultural revolution in villages, towns, cooperatives, factories and everywhere else.

In order to accomplish the cultural revolution, we need to organize groups of different kinds on a wide scale, such as sports, literature, art and technical study circles, while introducing compulsory education and adult education. And it is of great importance that we do a good job in running clubs in factories and villages, in making an effective use of newspapers such as the Party paper and those papers published by social organizations, and also in effectively utilizing other information media, such as factory and wall newspapers.

You must become not only information workers but also organizers of the cultural revolution. Only when this task is carried out properly will you also be able to successfully fulfil the task of inspiring the working people with communist ideology.

It is wrong to think that education in a school is indispensable to the improvement of one's cultural standard. Not all those who reach the level of middle school education are middle school graduates, and not all with the level of university education are university graduates. What counts is not the diploma but one's real cultural and intellectual abilities.

Some comrades are apt to draw hasty conclusions when reading someone's curriculum vitae. When he happens to be a university graduate, they say, "He is a capable man" and when he is a primary school graduate, they say, "His cultural level is very low."

I have witnessed on many occasions how foolish and dangerous such conclusions could be. Many of the university graduates I have met have turned out to be far from intelligent, let alone having the level of education of a university graduate, while many primary school graduates, whom some people neglect, proved to be men of good manners with a high level of education.

I say this to prevent you from falling victim to the mystery surrounding university training. There is no need for anyone to underestimate himself only because he is not a university graduate, still less for university graduates to consider themselves so important. There is nothing mysterious about a university. Everybody can reach the level of education of a university graduate even by studying at home. You should study hard and endeavour to improve your cultural attainments and education, first to the level of a middle school graduate, and then to that of a university graduate.

Even in such distant mountain villages as Changsong and Phothae-ri at the foot of Mt. Paektu, anyone can study as much as he wants and attain the level of education of a university graduate. This is impossible under the capitalist system, but under our socialist system it can be done.

Therefore, men without regular education should, of course, improve their level of education, and those who have attended school should continue their studies for further advancement. If a man neglects his studies, being happy only with middle school or university education, he will certainly be a failure. Here constant advancement is also required.

Since science and technology make steady progress, you have to make constant efforts to learn new things in science and technology.

One more thing I want to say is that the work to improve the cultural standard of the working people and the work of communist

education must be combined with efforts to teach them to be loyal to the Party.

Whether a member of the Party or not, everyone should be loyal to the Workers' Party. The Party is the leading force of the Korean people that guarantees great victories. Loyalty to the Party means precisely loyalty to the revolution.

To educate the working people in the spirit of loyalty to the Party means, in other words, to enhance their Party spirit. By Party spirit we mean the militant spirit of boundless loyalty to the Party and the people, a fighting spirit that is evident at all times, with all one's strength and, if need be, even at the cost of one's life, in order to carry out the Party policies and decisions.

Loyalty to the Party, that is, Party spirit, should be manifested, above all, in one's constant struggle to safeguard the strong unity and solidarity within the Party. For, if a party lacks unity, it will become powerless, will fail to carry out revolutionary tasks and will collapse in the end. The most important thing is to strengthen the unity of the Party in every possible way.

The Central Committee of our Party is now made up of steeled communists who fought for many years against Japanese imperialism before liberation, and of tested fighters who have devotedly taken part in the building of the Party and the state since liberation. All Party members should therefore defend the Party Central Committee and, rallying around it more firmly, show no tolerance for even the slightest manifestation of parochialism, nepotism and factionalism which obstruct the unity and cohesion of the Party, and wage a resolute struggle to destroy them.

You information and motivation workers who have the heavy responsibility of constantly explaining and propagating the Party policies among the working people and educating them in the spirit of communism, should bear in mind that the enhancement of your own Party spirit is your first and foremost task. It is quite obvious that an information worker or a motivation worker who lacks Party spirit will be unable to propagate the Party policies and mobilize the masses in the correct manner.

Those who work on the ideological front should lead the struggle for the implementation of the Party policies and should prepare themselves to fight resolutely against any tendency to disparage the Party Central Committee and undermine the unity and cohesion of the Party. Information and motivation workers who are thus prepared ideologically, are exactly the kind of genuine information and motivation workers our Party needs.

You must have better knowledge than anyone else of the Party policies in order to properly fulfil your duty of explaining these policies and of mobilizing the masses for the implementation of revolutionary tasks. You can never expect to correctly propagate the Party policies if you do not study them profoundly. Certain attitudes towards one's work such as learning sentences from decisions by heart and repeating them like a parrot will not do.

You information and motivation workers should know that all our Party policies represent Marxism-Leninism correctly applied to the specific realities of Korea. You should therefore make a deep study of our Party policies while studying the general principles of Marxism-Leninism. Only then will you be able to eliminate completely any ideological trends, incompatible with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which may penetrate from outside sources or any wrong ideological tendencies, when they appear within our ranks. As Lenin said this is why you should study, study and study.

You should embrace this ideology and knowledge through constant improvement and study and, at the same time, you should become soldiers of our Party who maintain close ties with the masses and work amongst them.

To do this, you should work and mix with the masses.

Some time ago, a certain comrade told me after his visit to South Hamgyong Province that, although we had been relying upon the strength of the masses and had been aware of their great strength all through the long course of our revolutionary work, he had never before seen such a great strength as that of our working people, who had risen up in response to the recent letter of the Party Central Committee.

This proves that we have started eliminating the bureaucratic and ostensible work style that is detrimental to the Party work, through the examples set recently by our Party Central Committee in giving guidance by mixing with the masses to discuss matters with them and to mobilize them.

In the past, all an instructor had been interested in when making inspections was finding fault. One who was good only at doing this and at criticizing others, was praised as a good instructor; otherwise he was regarded as incompetent.

Nowadays our Party's work methods are quite different. An inspection is made with the purpose of discovering and correcting errors. We have now adopted the term "guidance and assistance" in place of "inspection". When our Party instructors go out to rural villages, they sweep yards for the peasants, work with them, chat with them during breaks and advise them to correct their shortcomings, thus mixing with the masses. This naturally makes it possible to spot bad characters, expose wrong tendencies and discover what the masses want.

You should also go amongst the masses in this manner. When visiting the villages, you should dress like the peasants, thresh grain with them when you happen to be on a threshing ground, sit together and chat with them during breaks. You should learn to organize information work while working in this way.

Peasants will never talk to, nor follow, people who because they are information workers, sport strange haircuts, or, in the case of women, doll themselves up and carry handbags. However, this does not mean that I am against carrying handbags. It is all right to carry handbags when you go to the theatre but it would look rather awkward to do so when you go to work amongst the masses.

In the past, those who were engaged in the would-be "communist movement", carried with them memos in which they jotted down such foreign terms as "ideologi," "hegemoni" and "puroretaria"; when they delivered speeches they deliberately intermingled those words which were difficult to understand, because they had to show that they were communists despite their ignorance.

This wrong practice was prevalent in South Hamgyong Province, and the Presidium of the Party Central Committee once gave this matter serious consideration shortly after liberation.

If you make a speech in this way in front of the masses, the workers and peasants will not understand you. Some foolish people, intending to follow the pattern of those who carried on with the would-be "communist movement", borrow the latter's memos and copy out those words. An end must be put to such a practice once and for all. You must use as far as possible the simple language of workers and peasants, the language they understand.

What is the duty of information and motivation workers? It is to make people understand things and wake up, is it not? It is not good to use words which they do not understand.

Only the information worker who goes amongst the masses, listens to what they have to say, investigates and urgently meets their demands and organizes and mobilizes the masses for the fulfilment of revolutionary tasks, can be called a genuine information worker of our Party. You must rid yourselves completely of the harmful consequences of the past work style of the factionalists and showy communists and must mix with the people.

Your task is two-fold. The first thing to do is to study tirelessly and to improve your qualifications and strengthen your Party spirit; the second is to mix with the masses and educate and mobilize them.

Finally, I hope that you will hold high the red banner of communism in our factories and mines, in our farm and fishing villages, everywhere you go, and strive to turn all our working people into revolutionaries who embrace Red ideas, the ideas of communism.

LET US FURTHER DEVELOP MASS ART (7 March 1961)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1983), 15.43–49.

This time we saw the performances of rural amateur artists from all provinces who took part in their national festival. All performances were good. Our farmers are good at amateur artist activity, to say nothing of farming. Our country enjoys a rich harvest both in farming and art.

With great satisfaction at the excellent results of the National Festival of Rural Amateur Artist Groups, I would like to warmly congratulate all the contestants in the festival.

This festival clearly showed the big strides made by mass art in our countryside. The level of their performances was much higher than last year's. Of course, their performances were not so good in artistic skill as those of professional artists. But I would rather say that they represented the life better than the professionals. The rural amateur artist groups can challenge those of factories and enterprises.

Many pieces of various forms which gave extensive and profound descriptions of the new reality of the cooperativized socialist countryside were presented at this festival.

Most of them were those created by rural amateur artists themselves, and few were ready-made ones. The amateurish works deal extensively with profound subjects such as those on the superiority of the system of socialist rural economy, on the struggle against selfishness and liberalism detrimental to the consolidation and development of cooperative economy, and on the class struggle against the enemy who opposes the system of cooperative economy.

The works presented to the festival were a particularly vivid and truthful representation of life. Skill is important in art but truth is more important. These works showed vivid and true pictures of the happy and worthwhile life of the farmers and of our quickly

developing socialist countryside. These subjects were also handled correctly from the political point of view.

The vividness and truthfulness of these works are explained by the fact that they were produced amidst life and labour. Art does not drop from the sky but is created out of life. Art can be truly people-oriented and move people with great force only when it is produced in the process of labour and correctly mirrors the worthwhile life of the working people. In order to create fine works, professional writers and artists, too, should delve into the reality, into the life. The real life is much richer than when it is written in books.

Our art must be militant and Party-oriented, vigorous and realistic. The performances of the rural amateur artist groups are not only political but also unaffected, truthful and optimistic. The art you have created is a truly revolutionary and mass art which gives people joy and hope, strength and inspiration.

The programmes for this festival included many new songs based on folk music and quite a few which have been adapted from old melodies to meet the aesthetic tastes of our time. All these songs are good. Solos, dialogues and small ensembles of folk music were all good both in their content and the skill of the singers.

The national instrument concert *Sinau* is an old music but very good. It sounded like a triumphant war song and inspired us with courage. Though unknown who composed it and when, it is a good war song which well expresses patriotic feelings. Probably our ancestors in the remote past displayed their resourcefulness and courage in battles to destroy aggressors, singing this war song. If it had been sung during the Fatherland Liberation War, it would have stirred up the morale of the People's Army and the people still higher and struck the US imperialist aggressors with terror. In the future we must recover many fine old songs and popularize them.

The national instrument ensemble *Bamboo Flute Melodies Ripple over the Cooperative Field* was good for its excellent playing. How sweet and melodious the sounds of bamboo flutes were! The bamboo flute has been one of our national favourites since the olden times. But our people had no freedom of playing on the instrument in

the days of Japanese imperialism. The Japanese imperialists even banned it because its sound attracted people into a large crowd which, they said, would facilitate the spread of "seditious thoughts." The bamboo flute should be widely popularized in the future.

The small pieces of dances, too, were good both in content and choreography, and their forms were diverse. Solos, group dances, songs and dances, peasant dances and other small pieces of dances gave vivid descriptions of the beautiful aspects of rural women's life and their noble feelings, by making effective use of national rhythms. The solo *An Apple Picking Girl* was especially good. This dance deserves the first.

Many of the dramas were good. The plays *Young People beyond the Hill* and *A Happening in Our Cooperative* skilfully depicted simple lives in the countryside, and the use of dialects added to their native flavour. Their performance, too, left nothing to be desired.

The festival of rural amateur artist groups clearly showed that art activity was developing among the masses of farmers as part of their daily routine and that many hard-core elements of mass art were growing up in the countryside.

Not only lots of farm youths but also old men took part in this festival and, moreover, a whole family came on the stage. You said that the number of rural amateur artists had increased to hundreds of thousands in the course of making preparations for the festival. That is excellent. Such a large force of trained rural amateur artists constitutes a solid asset for more rapid development of mass art in the countryside. Art can quickly flourish when it strikes roots among the masses and relies on their talents. The rapid progress in art in our country can be explained by the fact that it is based on the broad masses.

The reported one million strength of amateur artists including those in the countryside implies that there is a large reserve of our literary and art forces. The more amateur artists, the better. There would be no harm if all our people should join them. Amateur artist groups are active in all our agricultural cooperatives at the moment.

This means that 4,000 art cells do exist in our countryside alone. The amateur artists enrolled in these cells make up a large reserve for the reinforcement of the ranks of writers and artists.

It would be a good idea to choose the talented and promising comrades from among the contestants in this festival and send them to the conservatoire and other art schools for professional training. These comrades, hardened and prepared in labour, will develop into excellent artists if they are sent to universities.

Our country has now become a land of art where young and old sing and dance and where chairmen of ri Party committees and management boards as well as cooperative members drum and dance. Italy was known to the world as a land of art in the past; but now Korea is so called.

Our country is the land of Chollima where both the economy and literature and art are quickly developing. Now we are worthy to erect a Chollima statue. If we continue to develop all branches of politics, economy and culture quickly and simultaneously, we will be the first to enter the communist society.

Why is mass art developing so rapidly in our countryside now? First of all, it is because our socialist system is sound. Today, our cooperative farmers enjoy a happy life to the full under the best socialist system. This happy and cheerful life is the source of such good songs and dances. Everyone sings and dances under our socialist system, and you cannot see such things like these anywhere else. This was inconceivable in the old days.

We have waged an arduous struggle for a long time to win today's happiness, and many revolutionary forerunners have given their lives in heroic battles. But we have not striven in vain. You, comrades, must not forget how this system has been set up to make you happy. You must devotedly struggle to defend it solidly and develop it further. You must work hard to push forward irrigation, electrification, mechanization and chemicalization in the rural areas and to make our socialist countryside richer and more civilized. If the farmers are better off and free from backbreaking work, they will produce many more good songs and dances.

Mass art is making a rapid progress in our countryside also because the levels of general knowledge and culture of the agricultural working people have risen. In the postwar years many intelligent youth who finished junior and higher middle school courses have gone to work in the countryside, and the level of general knowledge of rural working people has risen considerably as a whole. These intelligent and cultured rural youths and other working people took a zealous part in the amateur artist activity, displaying collective wisdom. So it is only natural that they have been able to create many fine works. As I was told, most of the literary and art works presented this time are collective creations. This is wonderful, indeed.

The talents and efforts of a few professional writers and artists alone are not enough to develop literature and art quickly. Many good artistic compositions can be produced which praise the worthwhile and happy life of the people only when the working masses participate widely in art activity and display their talents.

Another factor that contributed to the success in the art festival was the fact that the professional artists of national and provincial levels had gone down and helped the amateur artists in the rural communities. At present, many artists including People's Artistes and Merited Artistes are working among amateur artists and helping them actively. During this festival the jury members, too, jointly discussed the works of amateur artists and kindly helped them to correct shortcomings, rather than simply judge and grade their works. This is an excellent trait. It must be further developed.

All the successes that have been achieved in developing mass art in the countryside are the brilliant result of our Party's wise leadership and its correct policy on popularizing art activity and making it part of life.

We must further develop mass art in the countryside.

We must enlist more rural people in the amateur artist groups and put art more solidly on a mass basis.

We must develop that kind of mass art which the masses like and participate in. The rural art activity must involve not only amateur artist groups but also all cooperative farmers. This activity must be

undertaken by cooperatives, workteams and sub-workteams. And we should see to it that all the farmers lead a cheerful and cultured life, every home playing on *janggu* and *kayagum*. Only then, would it be possible to raise the level of farmers' ideological consciousness quickly, accelerate the cultural revolution in the countryside and encourage the farmers to work better in high spirits.

Mass art should be ideologically sound, simple, and optimistic. Rural amateur artist groups should make a point of educating the masses by means of good artistic pieces depicting simple facts. This is the mission of mass art.

You, the participants in this festival, must play the role of the core in developing mass art in the countryside. To this end, you have to study Party policy better and delve into the reality. It is only when you thoroughly establish the ideological system of the Party by studying its policy well and grasp the reality correctly, that you can create fine works of high ideological and artistic qualities and lead properly the activity of the rural amateur artist groups.

The professional artist bodies at the national and provincial levels, too, must always have deep interest in the development of mass art in the countryside. Professional artists should go down to factories and rural areas and give performances, while at the same time acquainting themselves with the reality and also guiding amateur artist groups.

In the future, the national festival of rural amateur artist groups should be held between January and February every year. It would be advisable that next year's festival be organized on a larger scale and that each province send some 500 group members. The Pyongyang Municipal People's Committee should build hotels and make other preparations well for a big art festival.

We are planning to hold the Fourth Congress of our Party next September. So you should make good preparations to give performances of the factory and rural amateur artist groups to our delegates to the congress and foreign party delegations.

It will be better if we arrange sightseeing for the participants in the National Festival of Rural Amateur Artist Groups so that they can see museums and other places in Pyongyang.

I am firmly convinced that on your return you will strive to do this year's farming better and further develop mass art in the countryside by devoting all your talents and energies.

ON THE DUTY OF EDUCATIONAL WORKERS IN THE RAISING OF CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE (25 April 1961)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1983), 15.62–79.

You are successfully carrying out the honourable work of educating and training 2,500,000 children and young people, our country's future masters, to be trustworthy communists.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee, I would like to begin by expressing my gratitude to you teachers who are devoting yourselves to the education and training of our country's children and youth and by wishing this conference great success.

I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to speak briefly about a few questions related to the education and raising of children and young people.

As many comrades stressed in their speeches, the Party has given the educational workers the important job of educating and training our younger generation to be reliable builders of socialism and communism, to be fully developed, excellent communists. This is a very difficult and weighty task.

Upholding the Party's policy, you have fought devotedly and are obtaining significant results now in the carrying out of this difficult task.

I am pleased with the fact that the education of the children and young people is going well in our country, and I highly appreciate what you have accomplished. Of course, our work has many shortcomings. To carry out this difficult job successfully, we should display more energy and enthusiasm and use all our intelligence to a greater extent.

We are now living in a new society. You yourselves are all new men who have grown up, educated in the era of the Workers' Party. You are Red educators engaged in the education and training of a new type of man in a new society. We must bring up men and

women of the new society by applying new educational policy and methods totally different from those used in the old society. Our Party's policy on communist education is a correct one that we must follow today in creating the new man.

The work of remoulding people along communist lines is of great importance in the building of a communist society where everyone can live well.

Socialist society is the first phase of communist society. To build this socialist society, the creation of material and technical foundations must go hand in hand with the transformation of man's consciousness. Even though the socialist transformation of the relations of production is completed and new technology introduced, we cannot claim that the building of socialism has been completed as long as the people, the masters who control society and technology, are not remoulded.

Remoulding people is much more complicated and difficult than transforming the social system or developing technology.

The material conditions of society determine man's consciousness, and the latter changes more slowly than the former. Old ideas and habits are very persistent. Even after the material conditions of social life are changed, old ideas and habits linger on for a long time, and are passed on from one person to another.

Characteristic of the change in ideological consciousness is that, unlike the change in the material conditions of social life, it is less tangible. In building a factory, you clearly see the foundation being laid one day, the first storey going up the next, then the second storey the day after. In the case of building a machine, there is also a clear distinction between what has been done and what has not been done. Today a certain part is made, another tomorrow, and then finally all parts are assembled. But man's consciousness is not visible, nor can we measure the degree of its transformation. After all, the kind of ideas a man possesses can only be judged by his behaviour. The degree of development of consciousness varies with individuals, and the content of each man's thoughts is extremely complex.

Therefore, the work of transforming man's consciousness requires long and patient effort, and it must be carried out scientifically on the basis of careful study. Educational work is a very important and, at the same time, a very difficult job.

In any society, school education holds a vital place in training people. Particularly, the farther socialist construction advances and the nearer we draw to a communist society, the greater becomes the schools' duty to fulfil the cultural-educational function of the state.

Home education, social education and school education cannot be separated from each other; they must always go hand in hand and must be properly integrated. The education of people starts at home, its foundation is laid at school, and then it is perfected in the course of social education.

Schools undertake the education of man in his childhood and youth, the most susceptible period of life, when mental and physical growth is rapid. Children and young people are most eager to discover things that are new; they are filled with strong aspirations to do the important, the excellent, the extraordinary. They are ready to follow examples which deeply impress them.

Needless to say, in this period home and social education are also necessary, but teachers have the greater responsibility. It is no exaggeration to say that our children and young people's raising as valuable people depends on how the teachers educate them. Teachers have the heavy responsibility of replacing the parents in bringing up their children and young people into the competent men and women required by the Party and the state. From time immemorial, therefore, people have regarded teaching as a sacred job and have had great respect for the educators of the new generation.

In our society teachers are also respected, and the Party, the state and all people expect a great deal from them. You yourselves ought to have a greater sense of honour and responsibility in view of the high expectations that the Party and the state have for you. As the principal of the Yaksu Middle School said in his speech just now, the job of teaching these days is an honourable revolutionary task.

To educate and train their pupils and students to be communists, the educators, first of all, should themselves become good communists and revolutionaries.

There is an old saying: Example is better than precept. This means that your deeds should be a model for others. To educate children and young people, teachers must set examples by their own actions. The teachers themselves, therefore, must become excellent communists equipped with communist ideology and the high moral traits of a revolutionary. If a teacher has ideological or moral defects, no one will respect him or believe his words, however fine they may be.

Our educators of the coming generation must completely throw off the many pernicious ideas left over from the old society. They must stand on the educational front as Red revolutionary fighters armed with communist ideology.

Communists are not extraordinary people. Anyone who fights selflessly to emancipate people from all sorts of exploitation and oppression and to provide them with a wealthier life can become a communist. Moreover, in our society where the people are masters of the country and society, it is not so difficult for a man to become a communist. Anyone who resolutely combats the old ideology and makes sincere efforts to arm himself with our Party's ideology can become a communist. There is not the slightest doubt that especially you, our educators, who have been constantly trained by our Party and have continuously worked hard to carry through its lines ever since liberation, can become good communists. I firmly believe that all of you, without exception, will become excellent communist educators armed with our Party's Red ideology.

Now, a few words about the communist education of the children and young people.

Many people think communist education is something of a mystery. In the past they considered it an almost impossible task to accomplish. But, actually having faced the issue and carried on this work in earnest, we realized clearly that there is nothing mysterious

about it. We have already accomplished a great deal and accumulated rich experience in this field.

Our experience shows that the cultivation of a spirit of love for people, friends, the organization and the collective in the children and young people is of prime importance in their communist education.

In capitalist society, individuals compete with each other and struggle to beat each other in order to enjoy an abundant life exclusively for themselves. In communist society all people are equally well-off. We are not "building communism so that only a few people can live in luxury"; we are building it so that all the people can work and be prosperous. In communist society, people have common interests and aims, and form a close, comradely relationship of mutual assistance. In this society, all the people are one big family, harmonious and united, helping each other and sharing joys and sorrows under the slogan of "One for all and all for one."

In this society selfishness, which means seeking only personal enjoyment and glorification, cannot be tolerated. A person who has this kind of selfish mentality can neither build a communist society, nor live in it. To become a communist, one must get rid of selfishness and learn to love other people.

Our children and young people must love their parents and brothers and sisters in the home, love their teachers and friends at school, and, after going out into society, love all the working people. We must educate our future generation to acquire this habit from childhood. Only a person who loves others will enjoy the love of others and get along harmoniously in collective life.

Sometimes we come across people who prefer a solitary life. There are those who would like to live in isolated houses by themselves, enjoy themselves alone and avoid the company of others. This type of person is very cold and indifferent to others' happiness and misfortunes. Such people cannot become revolutionaries.

To become a communist, you must place the interests of the people and the collective above your own. You must not be concerned only about yourself but learn to care for your comrades and the

people. In fact, in carrying on revolutionary work together with our comrades over a long period of time, we become more attached to them than to our families. No one is dearer to us than the revolutionary comrades whom we have rescued or who rescued us from adversities, with whom we have shared life and death, the bitter and the sweet. That is why the collective of revolutionary comrades is more united and harmonious than any family. Revolutionaries fight for their comrades and their revolutionary collective even at the risk of their own lives.

Such collectivism is, in the final analysis, based on the love of man. Only those who love their comrades and the people can love their collective. It is necessary, therefore, in communist education to cultivate our children and young people in the spirit of love for their friends and the people so that they may develop the spirit of collectivism.

Individual heroism characterized by self-importance, and arbitrariness marked by hugging only one's own opinions while belittling those of others, are both expressions of capitalist selfishness and harmful to the unity and amity of the collective. To root out these evil ideas completely, it is necessary to cultivate the habit of loving the collective from the earliest years possible.

The home and school are also collectives. At home children and young people ought to love their parents and brothers and sisters, at school their fellow students and teachers, and in the community their neighbours. Thus, they must learn to love their country and people and devote themselves completely to the struggle for the Party, the state and the people. Only those who are educated in this spirit can overcome every difficulty with ease, contribute to the rapid development of society and live in harmony and happiness in communist society.

What is important in education for collectivism is to convince the children of the great strength of the group. From the days of kindergarten and the Children's Union life, we must clearly demonstrate to children that when the collective pools its efforts, it can fully accomplish tasks which go beyond the power of any

individual. Thus, everybody must be trained to have faith in the strength of the collective, to rely on it in their everyday life and to fight for it.

Another important thing in communist education is to teach the younger generation the spirit of valuing and caring for common property.

In our society all valuable property is the people's common property. All the means of production and transport such as factories, mines, forests, fields, railways and ships, belong to the people, and all the cultural and public health establishments, including schools, hospitals and theatres, also belong to the people. All this property belongs not to any individual but to all the people; it serves our present generation and will also serve future generations. This common property is a priceless asset indispensable for the enjoyment of a good life by all members of the collective. It follows, then, that if you are to love the collective, you must learn to protect its common property.

We must also take good care of our roads, buildings and streets, and all the property of the state and society. The houses we live in today may be occupied by others tomorrow. The chairs we use today may be turned over to others tomorrow. We are obliged to take good care of our houses, our chairs and our desks. We must love all of our schools and factories.

In the final analysis, patriotism is an expression of collectivism. The patriotic spirit is manifested, above all, in love of the people and careful attention to the people's property. To become a patriot you must love your family and friends, love your neighbours and the inhabitants of your native village and love your people; you must love your school, factory and village and take good care of all the property of the state.

To neglect common property while only looking after your own possessions is an expression of bourgeois ideology.

We have built many houses, schools and theatres. But there are examples of buildings becoming unserviceable within a short

space of time because people do not value them and take good care of them. This is highly regrettable.

Even when we plant a tree, we must be well aware that it is for our own well-being and that of our descendants, and therefore, we have the obligation to care for it well. They say that at the Yaksu Middle School the pupils have been taught not to make even one mark with their knives on the chairs from the first day at school until graduation. This is a very good thing. I was told that once when a visitor to the Yaksu Middle School began sharpening a pencil to write something, a pupil watching him immediately extended his open palms to catch the shavings. The pupils are so anxious to keep their school, which they clean with the utmost care, neat and spotless. They told me that the man who was sharpening his pencil was deeply moved. All of our youngsters should behave like that pupil.

Patriotism is not an empty concept. Education in patriotism cannot be conducted simply by erecting the slogan, "Let us arm ourselves with the spirit of socialist patriotism!" Educating people in the spirit of patriotism must begin with fostering the idea of caring for every tree planted on the roadside, for the chairs and the desks in the school. You have to begin with what is within the grasp of the younger generation, things that relate to their lives, and then gradually move on to educating them to defend consciously the interests of the country and the people. There is no doubt that a person who has formed the habit of cherishing common property from childhood on will grow up to be a valuable patriot.

Another important thing in communist education is to educate the children and young people to love work.

In capitalist society, working people are mistreated and work is regarded as humiliating. Accordingly, they unconsciously think that an idle life is the ideal life. In our country, too, many people used to think that the luckiest man was he who did not work. When admiring a handsome baby boy, people would remark that he was destined for an easy life without work. And when it was a pretty girl, they would say she was good enough to be the first daughter-in-law of a rich family. Our forefathers, who suffered from backbreaking

toil, envied those who ate bread without working and wished that good luck would come their way so that they, too, might live this way.

Even now, some think that in communist society all people can live by just loafing. This is an erroneous view. Communist society is not one in which people eat the bread of idleness.

Communist society is one where everyone works and lives happily. As a matter of course, work in such a society will become much easier as technology develops. Then, all arduous and difficult labour will be mechanized and automated; distinctions between heavy and light work and between mental and physical labour will disappear. Work will become joyful and pleasant, and not painful; it will be a necessity of life. Even then, however, work will still be required. All wealth is the product of labour. Without work society cannot be maintained or advanced.

The point is, who is the work done for? In capitalist society the working people work for the capitalists, not for themselves. The fruits of labour do not become the possession of the people but are appropriatedby the exploiters. In such a society the workers have no reason to be zealous and work is only a painful thing. In socialist society, however, the fruits of labour are at the disposal of the workers and the masses of the people. Therefore, in our society work is a sacred and creative thing; it is an honourable task serving the prosperity of all the people and of the country. Under our system those who are exemplary workers command the people's respect and love because they are doing so much more than others for the good of the country and the people. We can say that our country's Heroes of Labour are fine patriots who faithfully serve the country and its people.

There are many loafers in capitalist society. But in our country all exploitation of man has been eliminated and no loafing is allowed. Idlers, in a word, are parasites of society who live on the work of others. As there are many such parasites in capitalist countries, the working people cannot be well-off. But in our society everyone works. Therefore, we can produce more wealth than capitalist society does and everyone can live prosperously.

Those who used to be wealthy in the past complain that their life is worse today than it was under capitalism. Of course, at that time, the landlords and capitalists were better off than now because they appropriated for themselves the fruits of many people's labour. The exploited masses, however, lived miserably. The only ones who complain that they are worse off now than before are the former landlords and capitalists who have not yet been reformed.

Some people think study has nothing to do with work. But this is wrong. In the final analysis, we study to acquire the knowledge and techniques essential for work. Impractical knowledge is of no use.

Formerly, some people could not even write a letter properly, although in old-fashioned private schools they read through the *Analects of Confucius* and *Discourses of Mencius* like priests chanting sutras. There were educated persons among the anti-Japanese guerrillas before, but some of them did not know how to apply their knowledge. So we called them "locked chests of knowledge."

Mental labour is as useful to people as physical labour. Those doing mental labour can invent good machines. But if it is to be fruitful, mental labour must necessarily be combined with physical labour. To invent a machine a person has to become acquainted with machines by actually handling them and he must listen to the views of the workers. Mere fancy at a desk will get you nowhere.

We learn in order to work, and we can improve our learning through work. Therefore, our studies should necessarily be combined with work.

We must get the pupils and students to realize that work is sacred and very precious. We must educate them to hate the landlords and capitalists who do not work and live in luxury by exploiting others. In addition, we must cultivate in our students the habit to be industrious from the earliest years, impart knowledge in correlation with work and help them to consolidate their acquired knowledge in the course of work.

Another important matter in communist education is to bring pupils and students to understand the superiority of the socialist system.

The socialist system which has been established in our country is the greatest revolutionary gain won by our people. They can be happy and our country can be prosperous and develop rapidly because we have set up a socialist system which is free from exploitation and oppression and under which the people are the masters of power. We must tell the pupils and students how many of our patriots and revolutionaries underwent harsh struggles to establish this social system, and we must bring them to understand clearly how far superior our social system is to the old one.

It is important to tell the younger generation about life under the old system and contrast it with our people's happy life today. Let us take education, for example. The difference between pre-liberation days and the present is very great. Before liberation the sons and daughters of workers and peasants could not go to school or even imagine receiving a university education. But now everyone in our country goes to a free school and anyone who wants to can go to university. We must give many such examples to our children and young people so as to explain the superiority of the socialist system and teach them that they must love this system and struggle to defend it.

Today the younger generation has a vague notion of landlords and capitalists and does not clearly understand what our people's life was like before liberation.

The revolution is not over yet in our country, and the exploiting system of landlords and capitalists still remains in the southern half of our country. We must fight them, and also build socialism in south Korea in the future.

Consequently, by comparing our country's past and present, by differentiating the contemporary northern half of Korea from south Korea, we must bring the pupils and students to a clear understanding of distinctions between the landlord and capitalist system and the socialist system, and we must educate them to fight to

defend our socialist system and carry the Korean revolution through to its conclusion.

Furthermore, it is important to imbue the younger generation with the spirit of cherishing the future.

To love the future is an important feature of a revolutionary. Revolutionaries fight, not for the sake of an easy life for themselves, but for the sake of a brilliant future, a new happy life for the generations to come, surmounting all hardships and trials and devoting all that is precious to them.

But the philistines are only interested in themselves and shun the struggle in an effort to preserve their own safety and pleasure, playing up to and yielding to the old forces.

In south Korea the US imperialists are now preaching to the people that the way to guarantee the securest and happiest life is to throw away their ideals, adapt themselves to conditions as they are, and seek momentary pleasure. In this way they try to paralyse the revolutionary consciousness of the working people and corrupt the youth. Men without ideals, men who do not love the future, cannot become revolutionaries.

Revolutionaries always struggle energetically against what is old for the victory of the new because they love the future and the new. Men and women who love the new, that is, the future, cannot be conservative and passive. They cannot be content with only the present; they want to go ahead continually to a still better future.

Many communists died without seeing the world as it is today. However, they fought stubbornly, firmly confident in the victory of communism. Though they did not survive to see our joyful existence today, they lived a noble and worthwhile life, and their heroic exploits in the struggle will be immortalized.

Capitalism has outlived its day and is now crumbling to ruin. The future belongs to communism.

To struggle for the future today means to fight for the victory of communism. The people who love the new, who love what lies ahead, are sure to become communists. A communist is the kind of

person who cherishes the ideal of building a communist society and resolutely fights to translate this ideal into reality.

In regard to the question of educating our children and young people to love the future, I would particularly like to stress the cultivation of revolutionary optimism.

The revolution is a hard and complex task. To carry out a revolution, that is, to eliminate the old and create the new, you have to overcome many difficulties and pass through many ordeals. If you lose courage, become pessimistic and despondent whenever faced with difficulties, you cannot become revolutionaries. The anti-Japanese guerrillas fought through immeasurable trials and hardships, but their lives were always cheerful and full of revolutionary optimism. The revolutionaries were not in the least disappointed, nor did they lose courage even when they were surrounded by the enemy or when they were thrown behind bars or mounted the scaffold. It was because they were firmly convinced of the justice of their cause, of the victory of the cause of communism and of the bright future. This is the attitude of a revolutionary who loves the future.

During the anti-Japanese armed struggle we met with many difficulties, but we never wasted tears in the face of these difficulties. We cried only when we were deeply moved. There may be times when the revolutionary struggle suffers a setback, but that will be only temporary. Communism will certainly emerge victorious in the end. Therefore, you should not be daunted by momentary failure. You must recover from it and win victory anew by displaying even greater revolutionary optimism.

We did not lose confidence in victory for a moment during our temporary retreat in the Fatherland Liberation War. Many foreign comrades who visited our country admired the Korean people for not showing the slightest signs of discouragement, and for being very cheerful and vigorous in spite of their country's crisis. We retreated temporarily at that time, but we knew very well why we were doing it—not because we lacked strength or fighting spirit, but because we were short of guns. We were firmly convinced that if we had more

weapons, we could crush the enemy again because our people's fighting spirit was great and our People's Army courageous. We can get weapons from anywhere. But such a fighting spirit, such confidence in victory, cannot be obtained anywhere else. Without such faith, difficulties cannot be overcome and victory is impossible.

After the armistice we also had many bottlenecks. The Yankees thought that it would take us about a hundred years to get on our feet again. Had we been defeatists, we probably would have thrown ourselves on the heaps of ashes and wailed. But our Party and our people, full of revolutionary optimism, struggled heroically, completed the job of rehabilitation in a matter of two to three years and then the immense tasks of the Five-Year Plan in two and a half years, thus radically changing the face of our country. Together with you, we all witnessed and directly participated in our people's great forward movement, and experienced their victory.

We must resolutely combat defeatism and pessimism, depression and stagnation. We must make sure that everyone works gaily and joyfully with redoubled courage at all times.

In educating our pupils and students, I think it is essential to pay profound attention to the matters I have just mentioned.

The object of our school education is to train builders of communism, armed with communist ideology and with the knowledge and technical skill necessary for building a new society. Knowledge detached from communist ideology is useless to us, because we are marching forward towards communism. We must further strengthen the communist education of all our students and guide them to live and study always in a communist way.

In educating children and young people it is important to overcome the negative by the positive. Our long experience has firmly convinced us that this is a very effective method of educating people. Overcoming the negative by positive examples is the embodiment of our Party's mass line in educating the masses.

The masses aspire to the positive, and they are capable of overcoming the negative and creating the positive. Therefore, important in the education of the masses is to discover their strong

points, widely popularize them and encourage them in every way to help the masses willingly rectify their deficiencies.

At school it is advisable to make exemplary facts widely known to the pupils and students and educate all of them through these examples. Criticizing the negative and punishing those who have committed errors is also a method of education. Nevertheless, it is more effective to use the method of positive influence in educating the broad masses. It is in the nature of things that good deeds are done voluntarily. Even when a person has done something laudable, he does not necessarily become a good person if he did it under compulsion or pressure.

Imitating others, we once wrote satirical comments in our country to expose the negative phenomena. But this did not suit our real conditions. Our people, who have led a highly developed cultural life from ancient times, have a great spirit of inquiry into the truth and a very strong love of justice. We can say that to give value to truth and morality over wealth and power is a beautiful traditional trait of our people which has been handed down through the ages. For a nation with such a strong moral sense, influence through positive examples is much more effective.

The guardhouse system has been abolished in the army, and the policy of influencing by warm comradely affection and examples has been adopted in its place. The result is that discipline has been strengthened and the unity between soldiers and commanders has been consolidated still further.

Transforming people in the Chollima workteams is also based on the method of influencing by positive examples. By using the method of positive influence, the Chollima riders are now successfully transforming into good men, into trail blazers, those people who had been considered totally unmanageable. We can say that the method of influencing the negative by the positive has already proved itself in practice as a very effective method of education.

Pupils and students, especially, like to follow their teachers' examples. They are innocent and very sensitive. All of them want to take the right path and avoid the wrong one. Good examples make a

very deep impression on them. The instructive tales teachers told us in our childhood still remain vivid in our minds. It is no exaggeration to say that whether or not the pupils and students quickly become communists depends upon whether their teachers set them good, positive examples. We must actively promote the positive characteristics that are developing among the children and young people and set as many positive examples for them as we can.

I would also like to stress another method of educating the children and youth: we must not neglect minor things but start with them and proceed to major ones.

Educating people in a communist way is a difficult and important question. In educating people, however, you must start from the little things. We cannot develop them into communists by only stressing abstract principles, neglecting the concrete realities of practical life. Education of the children and young people especially must start with details related to their daily life. They may seem small, but they will gather and get large.

Therefore, teachers must delve into all details of the students' lives, correct and never overlook even minor shortcomings, and promote and never neglect even the minor positive examples.

In educating people as communists, it is necessary to nurture the core and rely on it. This core must be encouraged among both teachers and students. When the ranks of the core are steadily expanded and strengthened, everyone can be educated in a communist way.

We have now laid down the new task of educating and transforming the masses of the people into communists through the nuclear role of our Party members. We are striving to accomplish this.

In the education of the children and young people, the teachers, before anyone else, must play the nuclear role. If collectives of Red teachers are formed and go among the pupils and students and make strenuous efforts to build up the ranks of the core, great successes will be achieved in the communist education of the children and young people.

Finally, I would like to emphasize the need to strengthen physical education at school.

Physically weak people cannot fully participate in the revolution. That is why I have continued to emphasize the question of physical culture since the days of the anti-Japanese armed struggle.

In the army examinations are given in three subjects: tactics, shooting, and physical training. Tactics are wisdom in fighting the enemy; shooting is skill in destroying the enemy. In other words, they are concerned with the knowledge and techniques indispensable for fighting. But a person who is physically weak cannot fight and defeat the enemy, no matter how clever or how highly skilled he may be. However well a cripple has mastered the art of shooting, he cannot approach and fight the enemy.

The same can be said of the building of socialism. Knowledge, skill, and a sound body must always go hand in hand. In order to put the science and technology taught at school to practical use, we must have a strong body. It is obvious that a weak and sickly person cannot do anything for the good of the country, no matter how excellent he may be at his studies. But there are some teachers who, ignoring this simple truth, make light of physical education in their work. We must correct this tendency.

There is a good reason why from ancient times on they have said that knowledge, morality, and a strong physique should go together. While educating the pupils and students in communist ideology and imparting to them the necessary knowledge and techniques, we must be deeply concerned about building their bodies. We must always guide them to keep themselves neat and clean and be active in training their bodies. Thus, we must educate all the pupils and students to be a new type of man, developed in an all-round way—good at studies, work and sports.

Our Party pays great attention to the education and training of the children and young people, and has established a correct policy to deal with it. Firmly united around the Party Central Committee, you must strive with greater enthusiasm to carry out the Party's educational policy.

I hope that with this conference as a turning point, you will exchange and generalize the rich, useful experiences you have accumulated in the effort to implement the Party's educational policy, thus bringing your work onto a higher stage of development. I wish you new, splendid successes in educating and training our coming generation to be builders of socialism and communism.

EXCERPTS FROM *OUR PEOPLE'S ARMY IS AN ARMY OF THE WORKING CLASS, AN ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION; CLASS AND POLITICAL EDUCATION SHOULD BE CONTINUOUSLY STRENGTHENED* (8 Feb 1963)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1984), 17.74–104.

On the Main Contents of Class Education

Class education is a work of ideological education aimed at arming people with the working-class ideology. Its main object is to arouse the class consciousness of the working people so that they may combat the class enemy uncompromisingly and fight resolutely to defend the interests of their class through thick and thin.

We should thoroughly expose to the working people the malignant and insidious nature of the class enemy, cultivate in them a strong hatred for that enemy and, at the same time, convince them deeply of their class position and the justness of the revolutionary struggle, thereby inducing all working people to resolutely fight the class enemy to the end, for the good of their class, their Party and their socialist country, and for the victory of the revolutionary cause.

The question on which we should lay primary stress in class education is that of cultivating among the working people a hatred for imperialism.

Imperialism is the first target of our struggle. All imperialism is bad, and the imperialism which we have to fight—US and Japanese imperialism—is particularly bad. We must, above all, educate our soldiers and working people with the idea of hating US and Japanese imperialism.

There are countless instances of barbarities committed by the Americans and the Japanese in Korea. We should tell our soldiers and working people clearly how the US and Japanese imperialists killed, insulted and oppressed our people. We should let them know about all the atrocities that the American scoundrels perpetrated while in

north Korea and are perpetrating now in south Korea. In south Korea today, when the Yankees go hunting, they shoot down Koreans who are gathering firewood and claim that they thought they were pheasants or hares; they shoot children to death, branding the victims as thieves merely for approaching the barbed wire fences; they rape Korean women and even shave off their hair; they strip Korean women naked and paint their bodies, and so on. All these represent an intolerable insult to our nation. We should inform the working people of all these facts. In this way they should be imbued with hatred for the enemy of our nation.

The Kwangju Student Incident, touched off when Japanese male students jeered at a Korean schoolgirl, led the Korean students throughout the country to rise against Japanese imperialism. We should fully expose the outrages the US imperialists are now perpetrating in south Korea and make them all known to our people.

What is most important in educating the soldiers and the working people to hate imperialism is to bring home to them its aggressive nature. We should not just tell the working people about a few cases of the imperialists slaughtering people in our country or savagely bombing our towns and villages; we should make the working people fully understand, on the basis of historical facts, that aggression and plunder emanate from the very nature of imperialism.

In the past, the imperialists gobbled up our country, and deprived it of vast amounts of resources and wealth; and also today, they have got hold of south Korea and are plundering the south Korean people, and even trying to swallow north Korea. All imperialism, without exception, is aggressive in nature, be it Japanese imperialism or US imperialism, the imperialism of yesterday or the imperialism of today.

Just as the brutish nature of a wolf cannot change, so the aggressive nature of imperialism can never change. Catch a wolf cub and raise it; the beast will still do harm to people and flee into the mountains when it grows up. If the aggressive nature of imperialism changed, it would mean that imperialism had already ceased to exist. So long as imperialism remains, its aggressive nature will remain. We

should categorically reject the allegation of the revisionists that the aggressive nature of imperialism has changed.

From the first days of their contact with our country, the Japanese and US imperialists tried to swallow our country and schemed to plunder our people of their wealth. The Americans robbed our country of great quantities of gold. The gold they took away from the Unsan, Taeyudong and Suan Mines alone amounts to a tremendous figure. In many places there still remain traces of those Yankees who pottered about the high mountains and deep valleys to rob Korea of its gold. I found a Western-style house on the mountain pass of Changsong, and asked the old men there what it was. They said that it was built by an American who lived there for a year, during which time he made trips on horseback in search of gold. I suggested that it would be a good idea to maintain the house in good state so that we can show it to our future generations.

The crafty Yankees plundered Korea of a huge amount of gold, of which they spent a negligible sum to set up a few "charity hospitals" and the like, and distribute some bags of quinine to Christian converts. Besides, in order to train the spies they needed, they picked out some Koreans and sent them to study in the United States. In doing so, they proclaimed that they were benefactors and were helping Koreans.

Today also, the Americans are trying to deceive people by similar methods in south Korea. They have occupied south Korea and turned it into their colony. And yet, they assert that they are giving "aid" to the Korean people. We should fully expose the true nature of the several hundred million dollars of "aid" which they are said to give annually.

In actual fact what is plundered by the Yankees in south Korea every year is incomparably greater than what they offer in the so-called "aid". In the first place, the Yankees maintain as mercenaries a puppet army of 700,000. If they were to station that size army of their own in Korea, it would cost them scores of times more than the amount of their "aid" to south Korea. The Americans, however, feign ignorance of the fact that they use the young and middle-aged in south

Korea as cannon fodder and plunder vast resources there. On the contrary, they vociferate as if they were feeding the south Korean people. In south Korea, too, many people seem to have started realizing by now that so-called US "aid" is a means of ruining the south Korean economy and completely reducing it to an appendage of the United States.

We must also get the people fully acquainted with the fact that the Japanese and US imperialists have long since collaborated with each other for the purpose of invading Korea. Thus, basing ourselves on historical facts, we should expose the ambitions of the US and Japanese imperialists to commit renewed aggression against our country.

Of late, the US imperialists, in an endeavour to prop up their colonial rule in south Korea which is on the verge of collapse, are even maneuvering with the military fascist clique in the south to let in the Japanese imperialists.

Men like Park Chung Hee and Kim Jong Phil in south Korea are special agents of the United States and are also stooges of the Japanese scoundrels. They are now holding the "ROK-Japan talks" with a view to ushering in the Japanese. These traitors intend to reduce to only 300 million dollars the reparations to be given for the plunder committed by the Japanese imperialists against our people for 36 years.

Our Government has made clear its determined opposition to the "ROK-Japan talks." A broad sector of the Japanese public as well as the working class is raising their voices to denounce the illegality of these "talks."

We must firmly oppose the Pak Chung Hee clique bringing in Japanese imperialism, and sharpen our vigilance against the Japanese imperialists who are scheming to invade our Korea again.

Racial discrimination and misanthropy are ideas inherent to the imperialists. We remember clearly how the Japanese looked down upon Koreans and brutally slaughtered them in the past. The rabid racial discrimination of the Yankees is widely known to the world. They regard the whites as a superior race, and believe that the yellow

and the black races ought to be dominated and maltreated by the whites. We should thoroughly reveal the history of atrocities committed by the Americans in insulting and murdering Koreans and the criminal acts they have committed and are still committing against the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

In this way, we should see to it that all our people profoundly hate Japanese and US imperialism and that not only our generation but also our future generations remember the aggressive nature of imperialism.

Besides, we should make our soldiers and working people fully acquainted with the evil nature of the landlords and capitalists. Today, landlords and capitalists still remain in south Korea, and they continue to exploit the workers and peasants ruthlessly. In north Korea the landlord and capitalist system had ceased to exist—but the former landlords and capitalists, though overthrown, are still alive today.

The younger generation has no idea of landlords, but the former landlords have never forgotten their confiscated land. Although 17 years have already elapsed since the landlords' estates were confiscated they still keep the property records. They say that one of them, helped about by his grandson, points out to the young grandson all the lands he has been deprived of and tells him that he must do everything to regain the lands when the time comes, even after the grandfather's death. In Pyongyang, of late, a 71-year-old erstwhile landlord, who had kept grumbling and complaining, turned against us despite the fact that, thanks to the solicitude of the state, all of his sons had gone to school and had even graduated from university. The members of his people's neighbourhood unit made every effort to educate him but it was all in vain, and finally, it is said, they had no other choice but to expel him from the unit, entrusting his re-education to his sons. I think this is an instructive instance which shows that the true nature of the landlords does not change. Just as the true nature of imperialism is actually unchangeable, so is the true nature of the landlords and capitalists.

The landlords have not forgotten that we expropriated their lands—so how can we forget the landlords? We should continue to hate landlords and capitalists and fight them to the end. It is necessary for us to produce many films and dramas exposing the criminal acts of exploitation and pillage by the landlords and capitalists, and also to write more novels based on similar subjects. Our youngsters should be made to see and read all these films and novels so that they can fully understand how their parents were exploited and oppressed by the landlords and capitalists in the past.

And it would be good for the army to occasionally invite and hold round-table discussions with some of the old country folks who in the past eked out a scanty living as farm hands and became better off after liberation. Through such round-table discussions we should make our soldiers fully aware of how miserable the plight of our peasants was, and how cruel the exploitation by the Japanese and the landlords was in former days.

Another very important thing in class education is to bring home to the soldiers and working people the corruptness of the capitalist system and the superiority of the socialist system.

Exploiting classes like landlords and capitalists are inseparable from their exploiting system. We should hate not only individual landlords and capitalists but the exploiting classes as a whole, and should fight against the exploiting system itself, in which they rule the roost.

To have a full grasp of the class essence of the capitalists, one must be well informed about their system. We should help the working people to fully understand that the capitalist system and the landlord and bourgeois way of life are bad, whereas the socialist system and our people's way of life are good.

Capitalist society is a society where a handful of the privileged classes, including the landlords and capitalists, oppress and exploit the toiling masses. State power and the wealth of society are exclusively in the hands of these privileged classes. The toiling masses are starved and ragged. If they fall ill, they cannot afford

medical treatment. Although humiliated and oppressed, they are powerless to defend their human rights.

Under the socialist system, on the contrary, the masses of the people are masters of everything. In socialist society, no one is subjected to exploitation or oppression. Everyone works and lives equally well, people study and develop together. Although they may not be in a position to live in luxury like the landlords and capitalists, they all live free from worry about food and clothing, are entitled to work and study, and receive medical care. Moreover, under the socialist system, all the people are united and work conscientiously, so that they develop the society rapidly and show great vigour in the fight against foreign aggressors.

In conveying the superiority of our system, it is very effective to compare the northern half with the southern half of our country.

A contrast between the superiority of the socialist system and the corrupt, reactionary nature of the capitalist system is manifested most strikingly in the diametrically opposed situations in north and south Korea. Our struggle today is, in fact, an acute struggle between two entirely opposite social systems, established in north and south Korea, a struggle between the classes that support the socialist system and the classes that support the capitalist system. We are striving to get people to choose for themselves between the two systems. It is therefore very important to prove fully the advantages of socialism over capitalism, by making comparisons between the social systems in north and south Korea.

In south Korea, the landlords and capitalists continue to exercise their authority and to live in affluence, while the workers and peasants lead a wretched life. Since power is not in their hands, the workers and peasants, far from being protected by the state, are simply oppressed. The police beat, arrest and imprison workers and peasants, and subject large numbers of toiling people and youths to forced labour and pressgang them into the puppet army as cannon fodder for the Yankees. There are over 6 million unemployed and underemployed, and hundreds of thousands of child beggars are roaming the streets, but the rulers do nothing whatsoever for them.

They arrest, imprison and slaughter at random those who advocate the rights of the people, and herd people off to desolate and distant lands in South America across the Pacific. We should thoroughly expose the criminal emigration scheme of the south Korean rulers who banish innocent south Korean people to faraway places so that they may never return, under the pretext that poverty is caused by a shortage of land, while they lay waste hundreds of thousands of hectares of cultivable land.

North Korea is inhabited by Koreans, just as is the south, but the situation is entirely different here: all the landlords and capitalists have been eliminated in the northern half and the exploiters and oppressors have all been liquidated. The state is now run by the people themselves; all of the factories and farms are owned by the people, who manage and operate them for themselves. Everyone works, studies and lives free from worry about food, clothing and housing.

In south Korea, countless people go about begging with cans in their hands, many dying under bridges from cold and hunger. We, however, now all eat hearty meals though they be boiled rice and maize, half-and-half, and there is no one who lacks shelter or who has to sleep under bridges.

In south Korea today, large numbers of children and young persons cannot go to school, and students even sell their blood so as to be able to pay their school expenses. But in the northern half, all pupils and students—who account for one-fourth of the population—study at schools free of charge; and everyone is even provided with conditions for receiving higher education.

As everyone has an occupation and works in our society, our enemies are carrying on a malicious propaganda campaign, alleging that north Koreans are subjected to forced labour. Contrary to their expectations, however, this sort of propaganda will backfire—so that, in fact, the Koreans in the south will long to be in north Korea.

An espionage agent, who had infiltrated into north Korea and fled to the south, slanderously claimed that the streets in the north were like a living hell in the daytime with not a soul to be seen

because everyone had been dragged off for forced labour. Such a crude lie can deceive no one, nor can it evoke the sympathy of the south Korean people. If the south Korean people, who are jobless and languishing in hunger and poverty, hear this, they would say they would prefer to get any job, even if it did mean forced labour. What pride can anyone have in streets filled, even in the daytime, with parasites who live without working and with the unemployed and beggars wandering about with no job to do and nothing to eat? And what good is it to have many yelling hawkers urging people to buy some product? Only madmen could be against eliminating such things and having everyone working and living well.

A few years ago, an airliner flew over here from south Korea. A stewardess from the plane gave her impressions of the streets of Pyongyang, saying that the cosmetics and other luxuries in the shops were not worth mentioning and that there was only plenty of ordinary fabrics suitable for plain people and of mass consumption goods. These remarks, too, can be construed differently from opposite class positions. When they hear the words, the landlords and capitalists may consider that north Korea is a poor society since it lacks toilet articles and luxuries. As for the working people in south Korea, they may think life in north Korea ideal for working people and say: "It doesn't matter if we have no cosmetics and luxuries. So long as there are plenty of the goods that the working people need, that's enough."

The bourgeoisie like to talk about freedom. Their freedom, however, is the freedom for the landlords and capitalists to exploit the working people and the freedom for the workers and peasants to be badly-clothed and hunger-stricken.

I was told that some of the south Korean reporters who come to Panmunjom extol bourgeois freedom. When our correspondents asked them what freedom they had after all, a south Korean counterpart reportedly answered: "You all go to office at eight in the morning and work, but we don't do that. Once we write a good story and make money, we drink or take a rest at home for days. And no one is bothered about it. What is this if not freedom?" This fellow, however, shuts his eyes to the fact that in south Korea now great

numbers of people, unable to earn a living, are going hungry, far from loafing for two days on one day's earning. He does not care whether others are starved or frozen to death, whether the country goes to ruin or not; he only wants to make a good living for himself. What a mean idea! It is most disgraceful to idle away time at home, drinking wine, instead of concerning oneself with the community, the state and the sufferings of one's fellow countrymen.

The freedom to eat the bread of idleness as long as one has money in one's pocket is a freedom for the rich bourgeois exploiter class, not for the working people. Genuine freedom for the working people lies, above all, in extricating themselves from exploitation and oppression by the landlords and capitalists, and in all being able to work, not for the good of the exploiters but for their own sake and for the sake of their country and society.

The capitalists talk about human rights, but in capitalist society the working people actually have no right to work, no right to live, no right to receive medical care, no right to study. Only socialist society ensures genuine freedom and rights for all the working people to work and live happily together.

A brief glance over one aspect of capitalist society may fascinate some with the pomp of bourgeois life. The streets blazing with varicoloured lights and shops stacked with luxurious and flashy goods may give an impression that everything is prospering and thriving. In contrast, our shops, which fulfil their function as supply organs for the working people, are not concentrated in any one place but are distributed evenly in each district, and their goods are all ordinary ones. People fresh from capitalist countries may think that our towns are much less splendid than capitalist ones. But everything that is sumptuous and brilliant in capitalist society is designed for the rich capitalists, not for the poor workers. People who fail to observe things from the class point of view may see only the flamboyant side of capitalist society, which has nothing to do with the working people, and be fascinated by it.

We should always draw comparisons between capitalism and socialism from the class point of view, and thoroughly convince our

soldiers and working people of the superiority of the socialist system. Only then will they love their system, make devoted efforts to further strengthen and develop it, defend it and their socialist homeland from enemy invasion and fight on with firm confidence in the justness and victory of the cause of socialism.

In the army, too, when political lessons are given, it is advisable to dwell on the south Korean situation a great deal, not only stressing the socialist construction in the northern half. You should give the soldiers a good analytical explanation as to how the landlords levy farm rent in south Korea; why south Korea, once called the granary of Korea, has bad harvests all the time and why millions of starving peasants subsist on grass roots and tree bark year after year, whereas mountainous north Korea gathers good crops every year and has sufficient provisions; why in south Korea the number of unemployed is constantly on the increase and even university graduates cannot get employment and in the end find themselves in the miserable situation of the jobless A-frame carrier, while the northern half is concerned about its manpower shortage; and so on.

We must also make the soldiers understand clearly that the fundamental cause of the miseries and sufferings of the south Korean people lies in the colonial, predatory policy of US imperialism and of its reactionary ruling system.

In the pre-liberation days when we were struggling against the Japanese imperialists, we taught the guerrillas in detail how the Japanese were bleeding the Koreans white and how the landlords were exploiting the peasants. We explained to them how much the landlords collected in farm rent, how the Japanese deprived the Koreans of their lands, how they levied taxes, and even what the monopoly system was.

Our soldiers should be thoroughly acquainted with the situation in south Korea as well as in north Korea. Only then will it be possible for them to have a deeper understanding of the superiority of the socialist system and greater determination to safeguard the revolutionary gains. And only in this way will our soldiers come to hate the US imperialists and their lackeys, the landlords and

capitalists, and increase their revolutionary enthusiasm to overthrow the US imperialist aggressors, the landlords and capitalists in south Korea at an early date and to make our south Korean compatriots as well-off as we are.

Class education of the working people is a fundamental class struggle in the realm of ideology. Without waging an uncompromising battle against the ideology of the hostile classes, it is impossible to equip our soldiers and working people with the working-class ideology, the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, we must wage a powerful struggle against all types of reactionary bourgeois ideas, anti-Marxist-Leninist ideas and opportunist ideas. At the present time particularly, when revisionism has raised its head internationally, it is of great significance in class education to expose the reactionary nature of revisionism.

The modern revisionists, with a view to paralysing the class consciousness of the masses, deny the class struggle and the proletarian dictatorship, preach class collaboration and bourgeois liberalism and obscure the fundamental difference between the capitalist system and the socialist system.

While beautifying imperialism and alleging that the aggressive nature of imperialism has changed, they call for a halt to the anti-imperialist struggle and oppose the liberation struggle of the oppressed nations and exploited peoples.

On the question of war and peace, too, the modern revisionists have put forward a pernicious "theory". Peace can be won only through the struggle of the broad masses of the people against the imperialist policies of aggression and war. However, the revisionists pin their hopes on the "reasonableness" of the imperialists and beg them for peace while repressing the anti-imperialist struggle of the masses of the people. They are compromising with imperialism and capitulating to the imperialists' policy of war blackmail, while spreading war-phobia and bourgeois pacifism.

Revisionism is bourgeois ideology which has penetrated the working-class movement. The revisionists, renegades of the revolution, craftily using Marxist-Leninist propositions in

camouflaging their reactionary nature, actually preach bourgeois ideology and serve the interests of the imperialists and the reactionary classes.

Modern revisionism is exerting an extremely harmful influence upon the struggle of the masses for peace, national independence and socialism. Where revisionism finds its way, the class consciousness of the masses grows blunt and they degenerate ideologically, thereby becoming unable to carry on the revolutionary struggle.

So, at present we cannot successfully give the working people a class education or mobilize them for the victory of the revolution other than in conjunction with the struggle against revisionism. We should fully lay bare the non-class and reactionary nature of the revisionists so that all the working people can draw a distinction for themselves between socialism and capitalism and between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. We should thus see to it that all our Party members and working people, holding aloft the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, the banner of struggle against imperialism and for national liberation and socialism, fight on resolutely for the triumph of the revolutionary cause.

Another important thing in class education is to firmly arm our soldiers and working people with the ideas of socialist patriotism.

We must learn not only to hate the enemy but also to love our friends. Love of one's own class and people and the ardent love of one's own Party and country is one of the loftiest characteristics inherent in the working class.

Nothing is dearer to us than our country. Our people have felt in their bones how miserable is the colonial slavery of a stateless nation.

The true mother of all people is their native country. We cannot live nor be happy, apart from our country. Only by virtue of the prosperity and well-being of the homeland is it possible for us to take the road to happiness. All the finest sons and daughters of our people were ardent patriots before anything else. It was also for the restoration of our country that the Korean communists fought against

the Japanese imperialists before liberation, braving hardships and tribulations.

Ri Su Bok, a hero who displayed unprecedented valour in the Fatherland Liberation War of our people against the invasion of the US imperialists, said that he had to devote his life to the interests of his own country. This is the feeling of real patriots. All our soldiers and working people should possess this patriotic spirit. Patriotism is all the more indispensable for us who have to drive out the US imperialist aggressors and accomplish the national-liberation revolution.

However, as our people had long lived in colonial slavery without their own state, quite a few of them are not proud of their country and nation and, accordingly, they lack in love for their people and motherland. So, in many cases, some people become transformed into Japanese when they are in Japan, into Russians in Russia and into Americans in America.

True, our people retain much of the sycophancy which has been handed down historically and lack a sense of national pride. However, our big defect is that we have so far failed to give the working people a thoroughgoing education in patriotism. As a result, some even seem to think the working class does not have to be patriotic, while others think that socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism conflict with each other.

Socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism constitute an inseparable whole. Some people betray their country under the sign of internationalism, which is very wrong.

Fundamentally speaking, proletarian internationalism is internationalism between independent nations, between states, and internationalism is inconceivable apart from nations and states. To hold that one needs neither state nor nation, but only internationalism, is not an internationalist stand but that of a ruined people who have forgotten their own country and nation and depend on others.

Needless to say, it will be another matter after imperialism is completely overthrown and socialism and communism emerge victorious throughout the world in the future, and the boundaries of

nations vanish and states cease to exist. Then the question of patriotism will never arise and its relationship to internationalism will pose no problem.

However, while frontiers continue to exist and people have their respective countries and live on a national basis like today, one cannot forget one's country and nation.

It would be meaningless for Korean communists to talk about revolution apart from the Korean nation and the 3,000 ri of Korean soil.

Those who were born in Korea are duty bound to make revolution and build socialism and communism in Korea. The Korean revolution is the internationalist duty devolving on the Korean people. For this reason, only when the Korean people satisfactorily carry out the Korean revolution as their first priority, will they be performing their internationalist duty faithfully. Everything we have must be subordinated to the fulfilment of the Korean revolution. Moreover, inasmuch as we are still at the stage of revolution in which we must accomplish the national-liberation revolution throughout the country, it is essential to enhance the national pride of our people.

The question to which we should pay particular attention in educating the working people in patriotism is that of making them fully understand the great importance of national independence. The Party is demanding that Juche be established in all domains, and special emphasis should be laid on political independence and economic self-sufficiency.

From the outset, communists make it their rudimentary task to fight for the liquidation of all kinds of subjugation and for the attainment of independence. He who denies political independence and preaches sycophancy is not a communist.

The man who lacks political independence will practise revisionism if others do it, accept dogmatism if others fall into it, or capitulationism, if others do so. How can anyone who keeps swaying with the wind ever become a real communist responsibly leading the revolution of his country?

A person who simply follows in the wake of others, without political independence, is out of his senses. Such a stupid man can neither love his country and people, nor do anything in a creative way to suit his own actual situation. The man who thus lacks the spirit of independence works not for the good of his people but to curry favour with others. Therefore, this sort of man may eventually play into the hands of the great-power chauvinists who try to subjugate other countries, and he may go so far as to degenerate into a traitor who sells out the interests of his own people.

Without economic self-sufficiency, no political independence can be ensured. A state can be fully independent and sovereign only when it has political independence and economic self-sufficiency. Above all, it is of prime importance for us Korean communists to turn our country into a state which has complete political independence and economic self-sufficiency. Only political independence and economic self-sufficiency will enable us to solve our country's problems on our own.

It should be a fundamental principle that the problems of a country should be solved by its own people. It would be very stupid and mistaken to think of winning independence by relying on others and of living well on the favours of others. The Korean revolution must be accomplished by the efforts of the Korean people themselves and the Korean question must be solved by the Korean people themselves.

We must show the people in the southern half that political independence and economic self-sufficiency have been firmly established in the northern half, and must continue to inspire them to take the path of political independence and economic self-sufficiency, without relying on the United States or Japan. Some of the south Korean people still maintain that the reunification of the country should be accomplished by the United Nations. We are fundamentally opposed to this. Why should we ask for the help of the United Nations to solve the question of Korean reunification instead of settling it among us Koreans? To do so would mean disbelief in our own strength and would be an insult to our nation. There remain quite a

few people who are not ashamed of relying on external forces because sycophancy has been a powerful influence in our country from the past.

In the last days of the feudal society of the Ri dynasty the situation of our country was particularly appalling. People were not concerned with saving the country by their own efforts; on the contrary, different factions did their utmost to get the assistance of foreign powers in order to achieve their partisan ends whenever an opportunity arose. So some secured the backing of Russia, others the backing of Japan and still others the backing of Qing—each group got the backing of a foreign power. This vice found expression even after the August 15 liberation. The factionalists played the same old game in 1956. All the anti-Party factionalists came out against our Party, each with the backing of a big power.

Today the idea of reliance on external forces which remains in the minds of some south Korean people offers a big obstacle to the reunification of our country. Therefore, we must energetically instill the idea of political independence in the south Korean people and youth.

Of late, south Korean youth have begun to insist that economic self-sufficiency is necessary to secure political independence. This is a very good sign. Certainly, economic self-sufficiency is unthinkable under US imperialist colonial rule, and if such ideas continue to grow among the south Korean youth, a powerful struggle may break out against the US imperialists and their lackeys. Especially, if we north Korean people oppose UN supervision or foreign supervision and continue to strongly demand reunification by the Korean people themselves, the south Korean youth will definitely rise in response to this.

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lackeys. Especially, if we north Korean people oppose UN supervision or foreign supervision and continue to strongly demand reunification by the Korean people themselves, the south Korean youth will definitely rise in response to this. ourselves to the building of socialism in the northern half alone, we could just sit idle, singing the praises of socialism. But we must never do this, for we are making revolution. We must carry the national-liberation revolution to the end and accomplish the socialist revolution across the country, come what may. For this, we should strengthen education in patriotism and lay a great emphasis on the question of national liberation and on the independence and sovereignty of the country. Otherwise, we will not be able to carry through the revolutionary tasks entrusted to the Korean communists and the Korean people. Herein lies the very reason that education in patriotism should hold a particularly important place in class education in our country today.

Another important thing in educating our soldiers and working people in the revolutionary spirit is to strengthen their confidence in the victory of the revolution and cultivate in them a spirit of looking forward to the future.

Faith in the victory of the revolution is all the more essential in our country. When the revolutionary struggle assumes a difficult and protracted character, those whose belief in the revolution is unstable may become weary and vacillate. It should, therefore, be driven home to the entire population that the revolution will definitely triumph.

If our present revolutionary cause were not to emerge victorious, people would become disappointed and dispirited and few would continue to devote themselves heart and soul to the cause, no matter how just and good it is. But if they are certain that the revolution will ultimately triumph, they will devote their all to the struggle, even though final victory may not be realized in their lifetime. It is precisely because of their firm conviction of the victory of the revolution that true communists are able to fight on heroically for the triumph of the revolution, fearing no enemy, however mighty, and courageously overcoming all difficulties and trials.

The downfall of imperialism and the victory of socialism is an inexorable law of history. Historical facts prove that imperialism is doomed to ruin even though it appears to be strong. Japanese imperialism was ruined, the German and Italian imperialisms were also crushed. American imperialism, too, will yet go to ruin. Already there are clear signs that US imperialism is declining. We must make it thoroughly known to our working people that imperialism will be destroyed, that all forces of reaction will be destroyed and that socialism is certain to emerge victorious. We must thus encourage everyone to fight to the end for the accomplishment of the revolution, with firm confidence in its triumph.

Furthermore, our youth should be educated to love not only the socialist system, already established, but also communism, to be built in the future.

We must not rest content with the present state of affairs. If we do, we cannot develop or make progress. We should always set our goals higher and higher and struggle to attain them. Uninterrupted struggle and continued advance will enable us to complete our revolution and build a paradise of communism.

Those who look forward to the future, who always set high goals for themselves and strive to achieve them, are capable of living more frugally and more militantly, always leading a cheerful and active life. So education in looking forward to the future is of great importance in establishing a revolutionary mode of life among the working people.

The work of arming our soldiers and working people with the revolutionary spirit of the working class must always be conducted in close combination with education in the Party's policies and in the revolutionary traditions.

In order to carry out our country's revolution with a mind of our own, it is necessary for us to equip ourselves fully with our Party's policies and our revolutionary traditions. The policies of our Party are a creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of Korea and are the guide for our action. Our revolutionary traditions are the indomitable fighting spirit and the priceless experiences and

achievements gained by the Korean communists in the course of their protracted, heroic struggle to carve out the road to victory for the Korean revolution, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism. If we are fully armed with our Party's policies and revolutionary traditions, we will be able to adhere to our revolutionary position and wage an uninterrupted, resolute revolutionary struggle in all adversities and ordeals, without losing the spirit of Juche. Neither revisionism, dogmatism nor sycophancy can ever infect those who are armed with the Party policies and revolutionary traditions. Only such people can be said to be true Korean revolutionaries in whom the ideological system of the Party is firmly established. We must train all our soldiers and working people to be revolutionaries of this sort.

This means that our soldiers and working people must be well acquainted, first of all, with the objectives and tasks of the revolution and know the methods of revolutionary struggle and its future prospects. We should explain to the soldiers and working people what the basic tasks of the Seven-Year Plan are as well as how rich and strong our country will become, how well-off our people will be and what great significance it will have in relieving the plight of the south Korean people when it is fulfilled. They should also be made to realize fully how we are building socialism. All these matters are explicitly stated in the report to the Fourth Congress of our Party. All our soldiers and working people should be induced to make a deep study of the Party documents and become well informed of the Party's policies put forward in each period of the revolution, and of the intentions of the Party Central Committee. Thus, we should see that all people think and act as the Party Central Committee does, and fight to carry out the Party's policies through thick and thin.

We must expect an arduous struggle in the future, too. We should follow the examples of the heroic struggle of our revolutionary forerunners and assimilate and develop their fighting spirit. In this way, we should see that everyone fights for the reunification and independence of our country and for the final victory of the Korean revolution with the same revolutionary spirit and unflagging fighting

will that the anti-Japanese guerrillas displayed in the deep forests of Mt. Paektu.

Along with class education, it is necessary to strengthen communist moral education still further. So far our Party has paid a great deal of attention to communist moral education, and has already achieved considerable success. The communist pattern of work and life has begun to take root among our working masses and there are many examples of people fighting devotedly for their comrades and collectives. Many glowing and impressive accounts of communist deeds have been coming forth from among the workers and peasants, and from intellectuals like teachers and doctors, whose level of consciousness is relatively high.

But we cannot rest content with the successes already achieved: there still are many shortcomings in the work of communist moral education.

Quite a few people still do not love the collective, do not love labour and do not cherish and protect state property or common property.

Even in our society, if people are left alone, without moral education, hopeless egoists may appear. If people become selfish, they will be wild with a desire for a life of plenty, just for themselves, not caring even about their parents, brothers and sisters, relatives, friends and comrades—just as in capitalist society. What is the good of living this way? Since we intend to build a communist society and get everyone to live equally well, we cannot allow anyone to become an egoist like that.

The survivals of obsolete ideas and old habits of life, which have come down through thousands of years, cannot disappear of their own accord in a brief period, just because a new socialist system has been set up. The complete eradication of outdated moral concepts and habits of life from among the working people requires a long, persevering struggle and positive education for the building up of a new, communist morality.

However, we have failed to successfully conduct communist moral education among the working people in a systematic way. For

an effective moral education, social and home education should be conducted well, and should be properly combined with school education.

In the future, communist moral education should be the subject of textbooks, booklets and articles in magazines; and we should also produce many films and dramas on the theme of moral education.

Education in communist morality should be intensified in the People's Army, too.

Most important of all here is to have the traditional virtue of unity between officers and men further developed in the army. In the past, among the anti-Japanese guerrillas, commanding officers and soldiers shared sleeping quarters and meals, joys and sorrows with each other. At that time the commanders did not have a family life and they took care of their men at all times, living together with them.

At present, however, the officers have a family life, and do not share sleeping quarters or meals with the soldiers. This is right and necessary, of course: there should be differences between the officers, who will serve the army all through their lives, and the soldiers, who will go back into society after three or four years of military service.

However, we should be deeply conscious of the risk that, since they do not share sleeping quarters and meals with the soldiers, the officers could become estranged from the life of their men, which would then make it difficult to ensure unity between officers and men. As a matter of fact, if officers do not go among the soldiers and live with them constantly, they will be unable to have a good grasp of the mentality of the soldiers, and a gap could open between them.

If we do not manage to give a full communist moral education to the officers, in conjunction with education in the revolutionary traditions, they will not be concerned about the life their men lead, while themselves living a comfortable life in a well-heated home with meals served by their wives: and they will only seek a still more comfortable life. As the saying goes: "Put a man on a horse, and he will demand a footman." And they will, in the long run, come to hate

even walking, and they will want a car; once they get a car, they will want a bigger one so as to stretch out their legs comfortably in it. Then they can no longer make revolution.

If you want to make revolution, you must discard the egoistic idea of living well only for yourselves. A revolutionary must be ready to sacrifice his private life.

Officers must organize their daily life in the spirit of always sharing the sweet and the bitter with the soldiers and, make conscious efforts not to become estranged from their men. Whenever you enjoy a special delicacy, you must think of your soldiers; when it rains, or when your troops camp out or are on an arduous march, you must not go home to sleep but stay with your men.

Officers should be strictly prohibited from following such pernicious practices as having their men chop firewood or carry water for them to make their family life more comfortable. This is little less than the behaviour of officers in a privileged caste. There are very acute contradictions between officers and men in an imperialist army, where officers exercise such privileges. We must take all precautions against the slightest expression of such evil tendencies in our revolutionary army.

In the revolutionary army, officers and men are all comrades who share life and death, sweet and bitter, for the sake of the revolution. Superiors should love and help subordinates, and the latter should respect and defend the former, thus ensuring firm unity between them. Officers must always love their men as their own brothers and show day-to-day concern for their daily life; the divisional commander should give assistance to the regimental commander, the regimental commander to the battalion commander, the battalion commander to the company commander and the company commander to the platoon leader. The unity between officers and men must be maintained in this way. It is very important to ensure unity between officers and men so that our army will become the army of our Party, a class army and a revolutionary army. Only in this way will our army always overcome difficulties through unity and be assured of victory under all circumstances.

Also, soldiers should be educated in the spirit of taking good care of weapons and economizing on ammunition. Without weapons and ammunition you cannot fight the enemy. We should know how the anti-Japanese guerrillas treasured their weapons.

Only when our soldiers are educated in the spirit of taking good care of weapons and saving ammunition, will they manage state and cooperative farm property well and display patriotic devotion in socialist construction in the future, when they are given assignments to work at factories or cooperative farms.

I visited units in the forward area this time to see how they are getting along and found that the living conditions of the soldiers are not bad. What we have to do now is to fully equip them all with the revolutionary communist spirit by strengthening their class education and communist moral education. Most important today in strengthening the fighting capacity of our army is to conduct this political and ideological work among the soldiers in a thoroughgoing manner.

On Enhancing the Role of Literature and Art in Class Education

I should like to express some views on how to make better use of various educational media, literary and art works in particular, in class education.

We have a lot of educational media—newspapers, magazines, novels, plays, films and so on. However, none of the numerous educational media plays its part properly today.

We have at our disposal a wealth of good materials for the education of our working people. A proper comparison in explaining the diametrically different realities of north and south, for instance, will enable the working people to get a profound understanding of the advantages of the socialist system. However, we are not attending to this work well.

Besides, we have many splendid achievements to our credit: there are too many praiseworthy things to enumerate—the great

successes our people have scored in socialist construction, the peerless heroism which they are displaying, and the hosts of fine communist stories which are being created among the working masses, etc. But we fail to give proper publicity to them.

This is why everyone who visits our country, whether he is a foreigner or a young person from south Korea, comments that we are understating our actual achievements in our propaganda. It is true that our information work is below par.

Why do we fail to make the best use of our excellent achievements in our information work? The main reason is that such work is left to a few writers and journalists, and the broad masses are not actively enlisted in it.

As I have said time and again, it is wrong to make writing something mysterious. There is nothing mysterious about literature and art. Anyone who has graduated from middle school can write about what he feels and thinks.

A great many middle school graduates can be found in the countryside, too, not to speak of towns, and still more in the army. There are ever so many people who are able to write. It is advisable to get all of them to write what they have seen and felt. Then you can collect their writings and have highly qualified writers pick out good stories and give them a bit of artistic polish. That is all there is to it.

This method can be applied also to scenario and play writing.

Generally, the cultural level of our working people is not low today. We also have a good many professional writers and composers. Nothing is impossible for us if we mobilize all our forces.

When we were waging the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we had neither writers nor composers, but we nevertheless staged dramas, made up songs and put out magazines and pamphlets.

We got together and had discussions about writing a play or composing a piece of music. And yet, the masses warmly acclaimed our plays, and many young people who were moved by them vied with each other to join the guerrillas. From this experience it is at least evident that our plays captivated the hearts of the audience.

Magazines, pamphlets and the like were also put out by primary
school graduates or at best by middle school graduates.

True, some crudeness was unavoidable in these works, but they were enough to educate the masses effectively.

There is nothing extraordinary about literature or art. The essential thing is to depict the truth. A certain degree of clumsiness does not matter so long as the masses can understand well.

As for magazines, I think the design of Chollima is agreeable. It would be better to increase the staff of reporters and correspondents for this sort of magazine, and to induce many people in each village, factory and school to write about different things that take place in town and country, and to send their writings to the magazine.

At first they may be not good at writing, of course. But it is advisable that even though poorly written, their writings should be published, after having been given a good polishing. This encouragement will stimulate and help them to write a better article next time. Their qualifications will also improve as a result of doing this repeatedly.

We should thus induce workers and farmers, workteam leaders and managerial personnel to write, and the chairmen of county Party committees and of county people's committees, too.

Scenarios and dramas must be created on a mass scale. When many people are drawn into creative work, a variety of talent may emerge and this will, in turn, stimulate such work on a mass scale.

This will make it possible to obtain plenty of good material. If there are outstanding items among them, journalists or writers may go to the authors to help perfect them.

Why do we consider the play *A Red Motivation Worker* to be a good piece? Because it gives a good portrayal of a stirring event taking place in our countryside as it really is. People like Ri Sin Ja are to be found not only in Rihyon-ri but in many other places, too. If a lot of people write about such laudable happenings taking place around them, and professional writers and artists produce their works

on that basis, they can produce as many first-rate works as are desired. Our literary and art works must always be based on such live sources.

We must find many good stories by enlisting the masses of the people who have a vocation for writing, and publish them in the newspapers or work them up into literary pieces to educate the working masses.

Next, let me tell you about how to deal with subjects based on the revolutionary traditions in novels, films and plays.

In the light of the present situation of our country, it is natural that literature and art should take many of their themes from our revolutionary traditions and war experiences. But these subjects must be dealt with in such a way as to suit the feelings of our young people of today.

At present, the young people find our films on the theme of the revolutionary traditions or war to be too stiff and boring. This means that these films are not properly attuned to our life of today.

So, I say our comrades do not know how to administer medicine effectively. People are unwilling to take a bitter medicine, however good for them it may be. A bitter medicine should be sugar-coated before it is administered. The point is that you do not know how to sugar-coat skilfully.

When you make a war film, you should not present only battle scenes from start to finish: you should reduce the number of such scenes, and link them as much as possible with scenes of today; and you should also strive to make your works rich in emotion so as to meet the feelings of young people.

Suppose you make a film based on the battle of Height 1211. You can start it with a soldier's reminiscences of a hero who fought well on Height 1211, and properly associate the hero's life in the past with his present life. In this way, you can produce an interesting film. You might also show the hero's childhood; what education he received from his parents in his early days, how he studied at school, how he kept on good terms with his friends, and what sort of girl he fell in love with. You can further describe how bravely the hero fought the enemy on Height 1211 after joining the army, and what the soldier

himself was doing at that time and what impressions he got from the hero's struggle; you can also portray how actively he is participating in the building of socialism at present, how he fares today and how his heroic friend and his parents are getting along and so on, thereby introducing topics of today's life. Thus, it is possible to deal with both past and present, introduce valour and heroism in battle and give a good description of life's emotions as well.

But the film entitled *Defenders of Height 1211* which was put out recently is nothing but fighting from beginning to end.

By contrast, the film *Under the Bright Sun* is a fine piece. It gives a true portrayal not only of the revolutionary struggle of the anti-Japanese guerrillas but also of today's struggle for socialist construction and the people's happy life under the socialist system. True, the sequences of the recollection of former times seem a little long, but, it is, in my opinion, anyway a good work, suited to our present-day life.

We must bring about a great improvement in film production.

Films are a very important means of mass education. But our cinematographic art is in a very backward state today.

It has been several years since the February 8 Film Studio was set up but it has not produced any war film worth mentioning.

We are to blame, of course, for having failed to educate writers and artists properly, but the chief reason is that script writing has been shrouded in mystery. You are gravely mistaken if you think only certain professionals can write scenarios. Anyone can write an excellent piece, if he just goes among the people and depicts the truth. The fault lies with writers and artists who make a mystery of literature and art and who do not delve deeply into real life.

We have been producing films for years now, yet we have not had a film dealing with the working class. Our country has thousands of factories and a heroic working class. There are no end of examples of the valiant struggle of the workers that can be described. But no film has ever appeared depicting the working class.

One day I saw a Soviet feature film *Bright Path* together with some writers and artists, and then consulted them as to what had to

be done in the future to improve motion picture work in our country. The film was about a woman, a former maid at an inn, who distinguished herself as a weaver, bringing about an innovation at the time of the Stakhanov Movement and in time became a Deputy to the Soviet. It depicts the struggle of the working class well and has healthy music that gives courage to the audience.

So, I told out writers and artists that they, too, should make films that way.

How many examples there are of the heroic struggle of the working class in our country, where the Chollima Movement is being unfolded! What we have built on the debris during the postwar years has not come all by itself: it is the result of the heroic struggle waged by our working class which displayed extraordinary patriotic devotion.

Our working class fought well, indeed. In order to save their factories from the enemy's bombing, they dismantled machines and carried them on their backs across mountains and rivers; they fought hard battles for postwar reconstruction, under conditions of great austerity.

But when told to depict something reminiscent of the past, you merely show scenes of utter destruction caused by desperate bombing by the American imperialists. Why do you present desolate scenes of ruin only, instead of the heroic battles of our working class? Only those who are ignorant of the people's struggle can do that.

As I said once last year, documentary films, too, are poorly made.

In our documentary films today there appear spool after spool of fine landscapes with flowing waters and towering rocks like Mt. Kumgang and Mt. Chilbo, but few of them depict how people work, struggle and learn at factories, schools, hospitals and other places. That is why I once said: "You shoot too many waterfalls. Do you think of living on the waterfalls of Mt. Kumgang?"

Also appearing quite often in documentary films are meeting halls. These halls are usually shown in the first sequences of documentary films. We have had enough of meeting halls. Why do

you always do this? What is the use of screening the platform of a meeting in every documentary, or of filming leading dignitaries delivering speeches or awarding prizes? The audiences will lose interest in such films because similar scenes are being constantly repeated.

Documentary films ought to show people labouring heroically at factories, farms and fishing ports. Such scenes can make a real newsreel. If a newsreel just presents the same men you always see and the all-too-familiar conference halls, how can it be worthy of its name?

As for the conference halls, you should shoot them a couple of times a year when there are meetings of special importance like a people's assembly or a Party congress. That is enough. How can you film all the activists' meetings which are held almost everyday?

A newsreel is supposed to show lifelike scenes of the struggle as it actually develops, and present them when they are still fresh. It must show how people are working all over the country—at factories and farm villages, schools and hospitals. Only then will it be attuned to our feelings, reflect the superiority of the socialist system and, accordingly, enjoy popularity with the audience and have an educative value. Our cinema is too backward. We must rapidly raise the level of both feature films and documentaries so that they vividly reflect our life.

To raise the level of our literary and art works, writers and artists must delve more deeply into real life.

We have a bad practice of awarding prizes too often. Prizes are awarded whenever a work is created or a piece of music is composed fairly well. And the rest, that receive no prize, are regarded as rejects.

Of course, I have no objection to awarding many prizes. But I think we had better work a little more, and only then receive an award. We should be a bit more modest and make more serious efforts to improve our work. Getting together for drinking is not the right thing to do when you win a prize for your work. That could lead to dissipation and ruin.

We must work harder to intensify class education and communist moral education, propagate the Party's policies and show the heroic struggle of the people. We must produce many better works.

Besides, in order to keep our people better informed of the actual situation in south Korea it would be desirable to publish an illustrated magazine with plenty of photographs showing the realities of south Korea. This is the way we must induce people to feel sympathy for the hard lot of our south Korean compatriots, to hate the US imperialists and their stooges and to resolve to accelerate socialist construction in the northern half, live a frugal life and fight persistently to carry our revolution through to the end.

If we continually strive to enhance the role of the educational media such as the radio, newspapers, magazines, novels, dramas and films, and if we impart class education and communist moral education according to the requirements of our reality, we will register greater successes in this work.

LET US CREATE MANY MORE MASTERPIECES OF REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE AND ART (5 Nov 1963)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1984), 17.427–34.

I have long been intending to see you comrades, but I could hardly find the time to do so. Today I would like to talk to you about creating masterpieces of revolutionary literature and art.

At present there are not many literary works, particularly masterpieces, which deal with the revolutionary traditions of our Party. Although we have some reminiscences written by the veterans of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, there are neither novels nor motion pictures worth mentioning which depict the armed struggle. None of the literary works dealing with the Fatherland Liberation War can be called a masterpiece.

We need good novels which can be adapted for the stage and the screen. But we have no masterpieces, so it is impossible to produce good films and dramas. The main defect in literature and art is that masterpieces are not being produced.

Today we are faced with the challenging revolutionary tasks of accelerating the construction of socialism in the northern half of Korea, reunifying our divided country and, further, carrying out the world revolution. We must continue with the revolution. Hence a very urgent requirement for many works of revolutionary literature and art with which to educate the people both in the north and south.

Works of literature and art in general, and novels in particular, are very effective in arousing people to class consciousness and in cultivating their revolutionary will.

My father had a revolutionary influence on me, but I made a firmer resolve to commit myself to revolution while reading novels in my secondary school days. These novels gave me a better idea of the contradictions of capitalist society, of the gaps between rich and poor, and of social evils. On the Amnok River and Juvenile Vagrant by Jiang Guangchi, short stories by Lu Xun, and The Iron Flood and

The Nineteen by Soviet writers had a considerable revolutionary influence on me. I still remember vividly how much I thought about the revolution, when reading Mother by Gorky. This novel shows well how Pavel's mother, an ordinary woman, is awakened to class consciousness and sets out on the road of revolution. It is this kind of work that inspires people with a determination to engage in revolutionary activity. Revolutionary novels have greatly helped towards increasing our class consciousness.

Literary works also had a great deal of influence on those of my comrades who read them. When we were working in the Young Communist League in Jilin, we got students to read several novels and thus awakened youth and students to class consciousness and drew them into our revolutionary organization.

But we have few revolutionary masterpieces now, and we are particularly short of ones primarily intended for the young people in the southern half of our country. Our writers should write masterpieces.

First of all, you should produce masterpieces which deal with the revolutionary traditions of our Party.

I think you can write many good works depicting the anti-Japanese armed struggle. It would be possible to write a great work, for instance, by describing Comrade Kim Chaek's revolutionary activity.

Comrade Kim Chaek was born in Songjin and went to northeast China to participate in revolutionary activity. He was arrested by the enemy in Longjing, China, and put in Sodaemun Prison in Seoul. After release from the prison, he called on a lawyer, a sympathizer of the revolution, who defended him in court and who gave him his travelling expenses so that he could get to Jiandao, where he resumed the revolutionary activity and was arrested once more. After his second term in jail, in Jilin, he took part in the armed struggle until the liberation. After the liberation, too, he devoted himself to the building of a new country, and during the Fatherland Liberation War he fought well in an important job. If you write a novel dealing skilfully with these matters, it will be a masterpiece

which will mirror comprehensively the social and class relations and international events of the time.

You can also write an interesting story about Comrade An Kil. The Japanese imperialists tried to bribe him, saying that they would allow him to meet the "Emperor" of Japan. Comrade An Kil informed us that he would indeed meet the "Emperor"—to kill him. But we dissuaded him, pointing out that killing the "Emperor" would get us nowhere, and that it would end only in worthless sacrifice. Comrade An Kil's revolutionary activity, too, can be a plot for a good novel.

You can also write a novel about Comrade Ma Tong Hui. Arrested by the enemy while on a revolutionary mission with which we had entrusted him, he bit off his tongue so as to uphold his revolutionary honour to the end. His mother, too, was a fine woman of strong will. Such a revolutionary family as his is rare. If you portray well the image of such a typical revolutionary family, it will be a good piece.

There are many other comrades who fought bravely during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle and you can also write novels about them.

Novels dealing with the activities of the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters should not be written in the form of a biography or a chronicle about an individual person. You should not give the real name of an individual in the story but write in such a manner that readers may feel the similarity between fiction and fact. The story of a revolutionary need not cover the whole period of his struggle. Of course, a novel could deal with events over a long period but it would be good enough to show just one aspect of his revolutionary activity.

For example, you can write about the underground activity of an anti-Japanese revolutionary fighter, or about his struggle in prison. The optimistic image of his struggle in prison, and the joy of greeting liberation after his courageous struggle, if well portrayed, will greatly encourage the youth and other people in the south, and they will join the revolutionary struggle courageously, with revolutionary optimism and firm confidence in victory. It would also he advisable to write

about a revolutionary fighter who, after liberation, builds up the Party in a county in his care and attends the Party congress as a delegate. If the novel depicts vividly the need for founding the Party and the struggle to do so, it will be effective in educating people both in the north and the south. A good novel can also be written about the struggle of the anti-Japanese revolutionary veterans in the periods of the Fatherland Liberation War and of the postwar reconstruction.

What is important in writing about the struggle of revolutionaries is to give lifelike pictures of ordinary people growing into revolutionaries, and thus to imbue everyone with a determination to work for the revolution and so encourage them to come out bravely in the revolutionary struggle.

You can obtain material about the activities of the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters from the Party History Institute and, if necessary, hear from me.

You should also produce masterpieces which depict the Fatherland Liberation War.

At present there are no works on military subjects, which are suited to soldiers. The film *The Defenders of Height 1211*, produced recently, has not portrayed well life in the People's Army. You should write many first-rate works about military affairs so as to educate our soldiers.

You should write both about the heroic struggle of the People's Army and about the guerrilla struggle behind the enemy lines during the Fatherland Liberation War. Writers must not necessarily try to find famous people such as Jo Ok Hui; they should write about the struggle of the common people as well. The Kuwolsan guerrilla unit, too, would be a subject for fine pieces. In the period of the Fatherland Liberation War, the retreat of the People's Army lasted only 40 days. If people in the enemy rear had gone into mountains in groups of 20 or so, each carrying one or two mal of rice and an ax, they could have survived the 40 days, no matter what happened. But a great number of people stayed at home without enduring that difficulty for this short period, and were massacred by the enemy. We must prevent the recurrence of such things and, to this end, you must

write works about the guerrilla struggle in the enemy rear and use them to educate people.

You should also write about the struggle of the people on the home front during the Fatherland Liberation War. I saw the recently produced group dance Women of Namgang Village. It is a good piece. You should find more of such material, out of which to create works.

You should also find subjects for your works in our construction of socialism.

Building socialism successfully in the northern half of Korea is an important revolutionary task for us. Our literature and art should mirror the heroic struggle of our people for socialist construction and also the worthwhile life which is now theirs.

In our factories and other enterprises and in our farming and fishing villages are many unknown heroes and good material that should be depicted by our literature and art. Writers and artists should create many good pieces which correctly represent the struggle of our people to build socialism and the vibrant reality, so that the people will be greatly encouraged.

The south Korean revolution, too, should be the subject of many novels.

The south Korean people are fighting in difficult conditions at the moment. Although their struggle is undergoing turns and twists, ups and downs, the revolutionary forces of the masses are growing continuously and the situation is developing more and more in favour of the revolution. People's discontent with the social system of south Korea is increasing with each passing day.

We must do everything in our power to support the south Korean people in their struggle, and we must work together with them to prepare for the great revolutionary event. Writers and artists should produce many works of literature and art, including novels, and thus contribute positively to the revolutionary education of the people both in the north and the south.

This year you should write several long novels well, on the theme of the people's struggle in the south. In this way you will help

many people to learn the truth that the revolution is inevitable and so encourage them to take up the cause of the revolution.

The works portraying the reality in the northern half of Korea may of course encourage the south Korean people to a certain extent. But such works alone are not enough. We need literary works which clearly show the reality of south Korea, where, under the occupation of the US imperialists, the people are subjected to a miserable life, to brutal exploitation and to oppression, and which teach them that they must wage the revolutionary struggle, while breaking through all obstacles to free themselves from their plight. You should write to teach them the truth which underlies the revolutionary struggle—namely that, in spite of possible difficulties and ordeals or unavoidable sacrifices, they can be sure that they will meet with a successful outcome of the struggle if they bravely fight on with firm confidence in victory. Your works should also teach them the methods of struggle underground and in prison. Only then, will the south Korean people turn out bravely in the revolutionary struggle with a firm conviction in victory and with optimism, unafraid of prison or the gallows.

You could write a novel about a man who waged an underground struggle in the south, joined the Volunteer Corps and fought in the period of the Fatherland Liberation War and later came to the northern half of Korea, where he is receiving education and leading a happy life. But you should describe mainly how the common people in south Korea set out on the road of revolution and how they should fight.

In addition, you should write against revisionism.

In some countries, under the influence of revisionism, literary and art works are now being produced which preach abandonment of revolution and compromise with imperialism, and which lead to political and moral degeneration.

We must uncompromisingly struggle to thoroughly prevent such revisionist influences from infiltrating our literature and art. If revisionism should find its way among us, it could paralyze the ideological consciousness of the people and degrade them politically

and morally. If this happens, the enemy could deprive us of our socialist gains, and our people might again become enslaved by the imperialists.

We must oppose art for art's sake, too. Imperialist aggressors are using it to paralyze the ideological consciousness of the peoples in colonies and those in revolutionary countries. Tolerance of art for art's sake in the field of literature and art means adopting revisionism.

We have liberated only half of the country and have not yet reunified it. We must not cease to struggle on the ground that we have established the socialist system in the northern half of Korea, under which the people lead a happy life. The reunification of the country does not come of its own accord. To reunify the country we must drive the US imperialists out of south Korea. If the US imperialists refuse to withdraw from south Korea and unleash another war, we will have to fight them again. Therefore, writers and artists should relentlessly struggle to prevent the smallest element of revisionism from infiltrating into our literature and art. They should create works of literature and art to educate all our people to work alertly and militantly and to lead a frugal life, without becoming in the least lax or indolent, but in the spirit which the anti-Japanese revolutionary fighters displayed on Mt. Paektu, that is, the revolutionary spirit of Mt. Paektu.

It would be advisable to organize a creative staff made up of veteran writers and of young writers of talent in order to create revolutionary masterpieces.

Along with novels, you should produce many revolutionary songs.

Songs play an important role in educating people in a revolutionary way. When we were waging the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle in the past, we used to compose revolutionary songs and popularize them among the people. Nearly all children and women sang them, to say nothing of the young people. While singing, they came to realize the true meaning of the revolutionary songs and were gradually awakened to revolutionary consciousness, and ended by joining in the revolutionary struggle. At that time, we wrote

revolutionary songs and put them to tunes which were easy to sing. Such songs became popular even among the puppet Manchukuo Army soldiers, to say nothing of the people, and exerted a revolutionary influence on them.

We should compose songs which can encourage the people in the north who are striving to build socialism as well as those in the south in their revolutionary struggle. In particular, many revolutionary songs should be produced to inspire the south Korean people with courage.

Revolutionary songs must not necessarily be solemn. There should be both solemn and lyrical ones. The point is that you should compose many more popular and profoundly revolutionary songs which reflect the feelings of the south Korean people, and which are easy for everyone to sing. You should compose songs which can move the hearts of people, stir them up to wrath and bitter hatred for the enemy, which inspire them with ardent love for their country and with a high sense of national pride, and which encourage them to go all out in their fight against the enemy.

I believe that you will succeed in creating revolutionary masterpieces, following the Party's policy on literature and art.

PROBLEMS RELATED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE KOREAN LANGUAGE (3 January 1964)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1984) 18.13–25.

I have long been thinking of having a talk with you about linguistic problems, but, with one thing and another, it has not been possible until now. Today I would like to talk with you about problems related to the development of our national language.

There have been controversies over linguistic problems several times in the past—and especially over the problem of reforming our alphabet.

Certain people urged the immediate reform of our alphabet, but we were firmly opposed to this. What were the main reasons for our objection to the proposed reform?

First, some failed to link the linguistic question with the national problem. Language is one of the most important common features which characterize a nation. Even though a people are all of the same stock and live on the same territory, they cannot be called a nation if they speak different languages.

The Korean people, who are all of the same stock and have the same language, constitute a nation. Though our country is now split into north and south, owing to the occupation of south Korea by the US imperialists, our nation is one. At present, Koreans both in the north and south speak the same language and use the same alphabet.

What would happen if we reformed our alphabet now, as they insist?

If Koreans in the north and south used different alphabets, it would be impossible for them to read the letters they wrote to each other or to understand each other's newspapers, magazines or other publications. This would bring about the serious consequence of erasing some of the common national characteristics of the Korean people and, in the end, of splitting the nation. Concerned only with reforming the alphabet, they have lost sight of the menace of a

national split which such a reform would entail. We communists can never accept any reform of our alphabet which would divide our nation.

Second, they have not appreciated the fact that an immediate reform of the alphabet would greatly hamper the development of science and culture.

An alphabet plays a very important role in the development of science and culture. Newspapers, magazines, books on science and technology, and literary works all depend on the alphabet which they use. Without an alphabet you can neither study nor advance science and culture.

Before liberation, the Japanese imperialists tried to stamp out our language and our alphabet. Proclaiming Japanese the "national language," they prohibited the use of Korean and forced us to use Japanese. In consequence, only a limited number of linguists were engaged in the study of the Korean language at that time, and most of our people had no opportunity of learning it.

Liberation brought back our language and our alphabet which we had all but lost. Following liberation, we established a policy aimed at the rapid development of our national culture, waged a vigorous campaign against illiteracy and gave a big impetus to our public education. As a result, all our people learned how to read and write in their own alphabet. Newspapers, magazines and all the other publications being put out in our country today use the Korean alphabet, and they can be read and understood by all.

What would happen if we should change our alphabet all of a sudden? All our people would be rendered illiterate at once, and everybody would have to learn how to read and write all over again. Books and other publications would all have to be rewritten, using the new alphabet. And, until the people had learned it, it would be impossible to propagate either science and technical knowledge or literature and art among the working people through the medium of publications. This would hold us back for decades in the development of science and culture.

At present, our country is behind the advanced nations in the development of science and technology. Therefore, we should popularize science and technology rapidly, using the alphabet which is already known to all our people. Why should we delay the development of science and technology even more by reforming the alphabet?

Third, they have also failed to consider the international trend of the development of alphabets. We are communists. In developing our spoken and written language, we should keep in mind the common trend of linguistic development of the peoples of the world.

It goes without saying that we should not discard the national characteristics of our language too hastily, simply in order to bring its development into line with the common world trend.

It will probably take a considerable length of time for the whole world to become communist. For this reason, our national ways should be preserved for the time being. It is wrong to see only what is national while ignoring the universal, but it is just as wrong to see only what is universal while losing sight of what is national.

From this point of view, their proposal of a reform of our Korean alphabet is incomprehensible to us. We have listened several times to the arguments put forward by its proponents, but they have failed to advance any scientific grounds for a change.

Our Party was absolutely right in objecting to their proposal for a reform of our alphabet.

They have failed to appreciate the effect the reform of our alphabet would produce on our social life, nor had they any idea of the lines along which such a reform should be envisaged. Disregarding the future of our nation and the development of science and technology, driven only by their desire for fame, they have simply invented new letters to their liking and tried to disseminate them right away.

Language in itself is related to questions of nationality and the state, and is closely linked with all aspects of a people's life. How to develop a spoken and written language is, therefore, a very important matter.

We are not against a reform, as such. Admittedly, our letters do have certain shortcomings, and a study must be made of how best to reform them some day.

Our syllabics are square. A study should be made to determine whether or not we should use them as they are. Reforming them would indeed have advantages: it would make them easier to read and would enable us to type quickly and facilitate the technicalization of letters.

But, if a reform of our alphabet is ever to be carried out, it should not be done until after the north-south reunification and after our science and technology have reached world levels. Then such a reform will not lead our homogeneous nation to use two different alphabets, nor will it be so detrimental to the development of science and culture, even though it may take some time for people to learn the new letters.

For the present, we should preserve the alphabet which is used by all Koreans, both in the north and the south, and we should use it in developing our science and culture.

Moreover, even if we do reform our alphabet in the future, we should retain the national characteristics of its letters, while bringing them more into line with what is common throughout the world.

This is the principle that should guide us not only in reforming the alphabet but also in all other matters related to the development of our language.

It is a source of great pride and encouragement to us that our nation has a spoken and written language of its own. Because we Korean people have had our own language from remote antiquity, we were able to create an excellent national culture and to preserve intact the fine customs and traditions of our nation. And since our people have an excellent language, our national pride is high and our sense of unity, too, is great.

Now, as always, our spoken and written language serves as a powerful weapon in the development of the economy, culture, science and technology of our country, in all fields of socialist construction. If we did not have a good spoken and written language, if we did not

have our long history and cultural traditions which have been shaped and handed down through the medium of the language, if our written language was not accepted by the entire people today and if, accordingly, it were failing to help raise the ideological consciousness and the technical and cultural levels of the working people rapidly, then we would not be able to advance quickly in socialist construction in the saddle of Chollima.

Korean is, as a matter of fact, a very good language. Our language flows easily, with rising and falling cadences and long and short sounds; it has good intonation, as well, and sounds very pleasing to the ear. Our language is so rich that it is capable of expressing with clarity any complex thought or delicate feeling; it can stir people, make them laugh or cry. Our language is also highly effective in educating people in communist morality, because it can express with precision matters of good behaviour. Our national language is so rich in pronunciation that in it we can pronounce almost freely the sounds of any other language of the Eastern or Western countries.

We can justly be proud of our spoken and written language, and we should love it.

It goes without saying that the Korean language also has its shortcomings. We should eliminate these aspects of our national language and make it more precise and beautiful.

The most important question which calls for our attention at present is that of the words which have been borrowed from Chinese ideographs and which have flooded our language.

Above all, we should take a correct attitude towards the words adopted from Chinese ideographs. Many words of Chinese origin which our ancestors used and then discarded are now being revived, and scores of new words are being coined by introducing Chinese ideographs at random.

With the development of science and technology and the progress of society, our vocabulary must also be expanded. We must create a lot of new words.

But we should make it a point to form these new words from our own root words. There is no need to complicate our vocabulary

by having two kinds of words—home-grown ones and those borrowed from Chinese ideographs. There should be one unified vocabulary based on our homegrown words. You should find out which root words are our own and which have come from Chinese ideographs, and make a list of each. You should also find out why words borrowed from Chinese ideographs keep finding their way into our language—perhaps we have not enough root words of our own. If it is impossible to manage with our own root words alone, that is something else again. But, if we can do so, we should develop the Korean language with our own root words.

It would be a good idea to make new words, for instance, using our word *mot* (nail) in *nasamot* (screw), *tharaemot* (bolt) and *namumot* (wood nail). Among the words coined recently, however, there are many that are incomprehensible to young people: *tonyuk* (pork), *jadon* (piglet), *modon* (sow), *myomok* (sapling) and *myophojon* (tree nursery), to name a few. If we used Chinese ideographs, as was done in the past, it would be another matter, but, since we are not using them any more, such words should not be coined at random. You say *sangyop* (mulberry leaf), *sangjon* (mulberry field) and *sangmok* (mulberry tree), when *ppongip*, *ppongbat* and *ppongnamu* would do just as well. Those who know Chinese characters may understand the former, but our young people will not. If, intending to refer to a mulberry field, you write *sangjon*, the young people may confuse it with the word *sangjon* (master) which you use when you condemn the puppets in south Korea for licking the boots of their Yankee masters. You use such words as *yangjam* (silk culture), *jamgyon* (silks) and *jamsa* (silk threads), when you already have such excellent words as *nuechigi*, *myongju* and *myongjusil*; you say *tonsa* (pigsty) when *twaejiuri* does perfectly well, and *sipguse* (19-year-old) when *yolahopsal* serves the purpose. This is all wrong.

When you already have such a fine word as *tambae* (tobacco), why say *yonchol*? As for *sokgyo* (stone bridge), you might just as well say *toldari*.

There is, of course, no need to go so far as to abandon those words which have been adopted from Chinese ideographs and which have already been fully assimilated into our language. Such words as *pang*(room), *hakgyo* (school), *kwahakgisul* (science and technology) and *samgakhyong* (triangle) have already become part of our language. We need not trouble ourselves to change *hakgyo* to *paeumjip* and *samgakhyong* to *semoggol*. That would be a deviation.

Nor should the word op (work) be discarded. Such words as *saop* (work), *nongop* (agriculture) and *kongop* (industry) should all be used.

Words adopted from Chinese ideographs appear rather often, and especially in scientific treatises and political reports. Political terminology is somewhat complex. There seems to be no alternative but to use such words as *ryonhaphoe* (joint conference) and *punkwahoe* (subcommittee meeting).

But, in our use of a certain number of words adopted from Chinese ideographs, it will simply not do to use Chinese words as they stand, changing only their pronunciation. You also say *kongjakbogo* in the sense of *saopbogo* (report on the work), but *kongjakbogo* is Chinese. You ought to use *saopbogo*, which is familiar to all. The Korean edition of the Chinese magazine *Hongqi* is full of words borrowed intact from contemporary Chinese, only written in the Korean alphabet. It uses *hwachacham* for *jonggojang* (railway station) and *kongingyegup* for *rodonggyegup* (working class). Such words are not Korean.

As for those words whose roots come from Chinese ideographs but which have already been completely assimilated into our language, there is no need to change them. What is wrong is the unnecessary use of new words coined from Chinese ideographs, instead of evolving and using their equivalents in our own rich language. We should keep the use of loanwords from Chinese to the indispensable minimum and avoid coming new ones indiscriminately. If you coin words from Chinese ideographs and use them indiscriminately, as is being done at present, few of our own words will survive in the end.

In short, when you have two words that mean the same thing, one being our own and the other borrowed from Chinese ideographs, you should choose the former whenever possible; and, if you have to use a certain number of words adopted from Chinese ideographs, you should be selective in doing so, using only those which have already become thoroughly assimilated into our own language; you should enrich and develop our language by using indigenous root words as much as possible, instead of coining new words from Chinese ideographs thoughtlessly.

This, I think, is the right orientation for the development of our language.

To proceed. Words of foreign origin should also be screened. We should use words of our own whenever possible instead of using loanwords.

Immediately after liberation, O Ki Sop tried to Russianize Korean, indiscriminately injecting such terms as *ideologiya* and *hegemoniya* in an attempt to show off his learning. We criticized him for this. Now, the smarties in south Korea are spoiling our language by adulterating it with English and Japanese.

We, too, must plead guilty to using foreign words occasionally without thinking. For instance, sometimes *ekjamen* slips out instead of *sihom* (examination) or *klas* instead of *hakgup* (class). We now useplan as well as *kyehoek*, and *tempo* as well as *sokdo*, but it is easier for the masses to understand our Korean words *kyehoek* and *sokdo*.

Some people are still using Japanese words, saying *uwagi* (coat) when *yangbokjogori* would do, and *jubong* (trousers) instead of *yangbokbaji*. There are still a great many Japanese words being used—especially in our mining vocabulary.

In apple nomenclature, too, there are such terms as *uk* and *chuk*, which are the Japanese words *asahi* and *iwai*, given Korean pronunciation. If a species is from Japan, it should be given a Japanese name, but if it is from our own country, it should have a Korean name.

In other countries, liquors are usually named after their place of origin; for example, champagne, from Champagne, France, and *maotaijiu*, from the Maotai district in Guizhou Province, China. This is a good system for us to adopt, calling the apple produced in Pukchong *pukchong* and the one produced mainly in Hwangju *hwangju*.

Naturally, we cannot just abolish all the loanwords in our language, for it is impossible to avoid using words of foreign origin, at least to some extent, and some new ones may even have to be introduced.

We have to use a considerable number of borrowed words, especially in our scientific and technical vocabulary. It is advisable not to modify such words as *turaktoru* (tractor), *sonban* (lathe), *polban* (drilling machine) and *taningban* (turning lathe). There were no such things as tractors before in our country and, therefore, we cannot help using the borrowed words. You should consult the specialists before deciding whether to change scientific and technical terminology.

As for a foreign country's proper nouns, we would do well to follow the way they are pronounced in their country of origin, instead of pronouncing them in the Japanese or Chinese way. The name of a country should be written the way it is pronounced in the country in question.

Moreover, when writing figures, we should follow our own numbering system. Rather than writing "10 chon" (10 thousand), as Westerners do, for *man* (10,000), we should simply use *man* to express that quantity. However, it is common practice throughout the world to mark off a number at every third place, starting to the left from the decimal point, and we should do the same.

We should screen the loanwords that have flooded the Korean language, use them as little as possible and preserve our own words as best as we can.

As for the question of Chinese ideographs: should we continue to use them, or not? There is no need for us to use them. Even the Chinese, who invented them, are going to discard them in

the future, for they are difficult to learn and hard to write. Is there any reason, then, why we should use them?

The Chinese ideographs are foreign characters, and we should use them only for a limited period of time.

The question of using Chinese ideographs must be considered together with that of our country's reunification. Nobody can prophesy exactly when our country will be reunified, but it is a foregone conclusion that the Yankees will go under and that our country will be reunified some day. And since Chinese ideographs are still being used by the people in south Korea, along with our own alphabet, we cannot abandon them entirely. If we discarded Chinese ideographs completely now, we would not be able to read the newspapers and magazines printed in south Korea. We should, therefore, continue to learn and use Chinese ideographs for the present. However, this does not mean that we should use Chinese ideographs in our newspapers. All our publications should be written in our own letters.

Now I would like to go into the question of giving form to words.

There ought to be clear spaces between adjoining words. In our writing now, words are not distinctly separated from each other. As a result, our writing looks like an unbroken string of syllabics. So, at a glance, it is less appealing to the eye than Chinese or European writing. As a matter of fact, the form of words will be fixed only when the syllabics are broken down and written sideways, like European words. Since the form of our words is not fixed, their spelling is also difficult. But the question of fixing the form of words will have to be settled after the reunification of north and south. You would do well to begin a thorough study of this matter immediately.

It would seem that this question, too, can be solved to a certain extent if, while preserving the square syllabics used at present, we space our words and use punctuation properly. *Kanggwa mul* (river and water) should be written as *kang*, *mul*, while *kangmul* (river water) should be used instead of the spaced form *kang mul*. You must

study how to give a definite form to each word, while retaining the square syllabics.

If the matter of spacing and closing up words is properly solved, our writing will become much easier to read. In typing, as well, the letters of one word must be written together and there must be standard spaces between all words.

There must also be many other problems related to the development of our language. The scholars working in this field should make great efforts to advance our national linguistics.

In developing our language, we should not copy from the language of any other country—much less take the Seoul dialect, corrupted as it is by English and Japanese, as the standard. We who are building socialism must take the central role in developing the Korean language, basing ourselves wholly on the pure native words of our country.

First of all, we must revise our vocabulary to some extent. It is important to do so at this stage. Only after this is done, should we turn to the form of the alphabet and to spelling.

Revising our vocabulary is no easy task. It requires extensive investigation and studies, as well as strict control.

You should establish how many words are truly Korean and how many are Koreanized Chinese words. It would be advisable to determine which of the words borrowed from Chinese ideographs we will have to continue to use, and which of them we can discard; and we should boldly delete from the dictionary those which we can just as well do without. You can hardly criticize someone for using words that are in the dictionary, so those words adapted from Chinese ideographs which we will not continue to use should be given only in the dictionary of Chinese ideographs, and should be totally excluded from the Korean dictionary. There are so many words adapted from Chinese ideographs in the “Korean Dictionary” compiled and issued by the Academy of Sciences that it looks like a dictionary of Chinese ideographs. From now on, dictionaries should not be compiled in this way.

The ministries and other organizations should be prohibited from coining new words at random; and strict control should be exercised to ensure that all the organizations use correct Korean in their official documents and publications.

The Institute of Linguistics should be put in charge of revising our vocabulary and should control the coining of new words. You should not confine yourselves to polishing up those words that already exist but should coin many fine words as well. To do this you should make a more profound study with redoubled efforts. In revising our vocabulary, care should be taken to ensure that no confusion ensues; value judgments should not be made on the basis of personal preference alone, branding those words that sound harsh to your ears as "bad" and giving a clean bill of health to those that happen to strike your fancy.

Our linguists should revise, enrich and develop our vocabulary in accordance with the basic orientation given above.

Furthermore, an ideological mobilization and a mass campaign should be organized with a view to ensuring that everyone becomes imbued with the spirit of using our language correctly. Wide publicity should be given by the Party to the need to abstain from using difficult words adapted from Chinese ideographs and to replace them with words which can be easily understood by the masses. In our socialist society, in contrast to the situation in a capitalist society, the Party has only to fix the correct orientation for the masses to adopt it at once.

Since just after liberation, we have been urging that simple—and not difficult—words should be used; nevertheless, there are still many people who use words that simply go over the heads of the masses.

Some people think that using a great many words which have been borrowed from Chinese ideographs and which are incomprehensible to others is a mark of learning, but such people are really nothing but ignoramuses. We must let them know that it is wise and more civilized to speak and write simply and clearly.

In fact, people who are versed in Marxism-Leninism can explain all its theories perfectly well without using difficult words. But those who lack a profound theoretical knowledge are more apt to copy phrases from books and mystify other people by letting loose a long-winded display of difficult words. This is also due partly to their lack of linguistic knowledge. Judging from the fact that even those who have graduated from institutes of higher learning handle Korean poorly, it would seem that Korean is not properly taught in our schools.

The teaching of the Korean language should be improved and intensified in all our schools, and its study should also be systematically pursued in all other organizations.

The Korean dictionary should be revised and, in addition, pertinent reference books should be published. The textbooks on our language should be revised, and teachers of this subject should be trained in large numbers. All the other textbooks should also be re-examined with a view to revising our spoken and written language.

Through such measures, we must make sure that everyone speaks and writes our language correctly and clearly.

ON CREATING REVOLUTIONARY LITERATURE AND ART
(7 November 1964)

From: Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1972.

Big progress has been made of late in the field of film and drama art. Especially, great achievements have been gain in the film art. There are quite a few good films among those produced last year. *Red Flower*, *Spinner* and *Zinnia* are all excellent.

It was a big shortcoming that we had no film depicting the life of the working class and their struggle for production. But recently, films of this kind have been coming out in great numbers. This is a very good thing. *Defenders of Height 1211* and *Women of Namgang Village* produced by the February 8 Film Studio, too, can be considered good pieces. A few days ago, I saw the film *A People's Teacher*, and I think its content is very good. The documentary film *Long Live the Banner of the Republic* is also very well handled.

Such achievements made by the film art should be ascribed first of all to the improvement in the quality of scriptwriting.

While good results have been scored in the field of literature and art, there is one serious shortcoming. That is, the literary and art works deal very little with the life and struggle of the people in the southern half.

Our Party has always emphasized that the liberation of 20 million compatriots in the southern half is not only a job for the people in the south themselves but also a revolutionary task for the people in the northern half as well.

As I said at the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee, to liberate the people of the southern half from U.S. imperialist oppression and reunify the country, we should do our work well in three ways.

First, the revolutionary forces of the southern half should be strengthened. Since the revolution there is above all the work of the southern people themselves, they should be aroused to rise up in order

to win the revolution. We should awaken them so that they will rise and settle their problems. However good the plan for reunification we may draw up here in north Korea, reunification cannot be achieved as long as the people in the southern half do not get moving.

Second, to complete the south Korean revolution and reunify the fatherland, the revolutionary base should be fortified in all political, economic, cultural and military fields by carrying out socialist construction in the northern half successfully.

Third, we should unite with the international revolutionary forces and thoroughly isolate U.S. imperialism, and struggles should be waged against U.S. imperialism everywhere in the world. To unite with the international revolutionary forces means to unite with the working class of the world, to unite with the socialist camp and to cement solidarity with the national-liberation movements of various countries. We have made great efforts in this direction.

We should thus strengthen both the revolutionary forces of north and south Korea and the international revolutionary forces in order to accomplish the south Korean revolution and attain the reunification of the country. But, however the north Korean revolutionary forces and the international revolutionary forces may be strengthened, the revolution can- not be carried out in south Korea without strengthening the south Korean revolutionary forces. Hence, it is important to reinforce the revolutionary forces of the southern half.

For the strengthening of the revolutionary forces of the southern half, we should first of all persistently carry on political and propaganda-educational work among the people of the northern half so as to stimulate their concern for the life and struggle of the south Korean people and make them regard the south Korean revolution as a vital revolutionary task of their own. We must bear in mind that such political and propaganda-educational work for the people of the northern half is closely linked with the political work for the south which is aimed at awakening the south Korean people.

The more the north Korean people are resolved to save the south Korean brothers, the more our forces will be reinforced to fight

for the liberation of the south Korean people and the more the south Korean people will be inspired. Further, such political and propaganda-educational work among the north Korean people is also in the interest of the south Korean people.

If we do not educate the people of the northern half in the revolutionary spirit, they will rest content with the results of construction already made, thus losing the fighting spirit of continued advance and forgetting the revolutionary task of liberating the southern half. That is why the Eighth Plenary Meeting of the Fourth Party Central Committee decided to take all possible means not only to intensify political activities in south Korea but also to conduct the work properly with those coming from the southern half and step up the revolutionary education among the people of the northern half.

The literary and art workers engaged in such fields as literature, cinema, drama, music and dance have a very great role to play in educating people in a revolutionary spirit. Our literature and art should serve not only socialist construction in the northern half, but the struggle of the whole Korean people for the south Korean revolution and the reunification of the fatherland. But our literature and art still fail to meet the demands of our revolution. We should have good literary works or films for the education of the south Korean revolutionaries, but we have very few.

The present situation in south Korea is very good. The intellectuals there are working very well. They demand an independent reunification free from foreign interference. They do not fight directly against the Yankees because they are still afraid of them. We should persist in our efforts to encourage the south Korean people to fight holding aloft the slogan of anti-U.S. struggle.

You should exert yourselves to create literary and art works that teach the south Koreans the methods of revolutionary struggle, boost their revolutionary zeal and raise their class consciousness. Literature and art which sing the praises of social- ism are necessary, of course. They are not only necessary, but better works and in large numbers. But what we lack very much and need urgently now are works of literature and art that will educate the people and

revolutionaries of the southern half, that will educate the people of the northern half in the revolutionary spirit.

With a view to contributing to the education of the people with our revolutionary traditions, you have produced quite a few works of literature and art which depict the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle. This is certainly necessary since the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle is the root of our revolutionary movement. You should increase the output of such works in the future. But in my opinion it is too narrow to limit the scope of education of our revolutionary traditions to the anti - Japanese guerrilla struggle. The time has now come to widen the scope of education in these traditions. Revolutionary struggles have been going on for 20 years since liberation. Why should the 15 years of anti - Japanese guerrilla struggle alone represent our revolutionary struggle? The struggles for the establishment of the people's power, for the agrarian reform, for the nationalization of industries and for the building of the Party, the Fatherland Liberation War against the Yankee aggression—all these were arduous revolutionary struggles.

More people took part in the three-year-long Fatherland Liberation War than in the anti-Japanese guerrilla struggle. The Fatherland Liberation War was literally an all-people's war in which all classes and strata of our society took part. The workers, peasants and intellectuals all fought valiantly, not fearing sacrifice. Men of literature and art should create works which portray such struggles. Not long ago, the February 8 Film Studio produced the films Song of the Transport Fighters and Women of Namgang Village. You should produce more of such pieces. Why should only the transport fighters or the women of Namgang village be chosen as heroic fighters?

The Fatherland Liberation War produced a great many people's heroes. Many people had gone as far as the River Rakdong-gang and came back to the heart of our Party, back to the revolutionary ranks by trekking over the mountains and crossing the rivers in the teeth of all hardships. This arduous retreat was, so to speak, a Long March. Why shouldn't we be proud of those who had gone as far as the River Rakdong-gang and came back, as

revolutionaries? There is every reason to consider them revolutionaries. They certainly deserve to feel proud of their participation in the great revolutionary struggle.

You should, of course, keep on writing about the revolutionary struggles before liberation, but you should write more about the innumerable heroic feats and inspiring events that took place during the post-liberation revolutionary struggles. Only by so doing can you imbue the growing revolutionary fighters with a sense of honour, encourage them to fresh exploits and train more revolutionaries.

As I have already said time and again, if we want to have our country fully reunified, the people in the southern half should wage a revolutionary struggle and drive the Yankees out. Of course, it is not an easy task to force them out. However, if the revolutionaries in the southern half conduct the work of Party building well and organize the struggle of the south Korean people properly, the American scoundrels can be forced out and their puppets smashed definitely. Then the reunification of the country can be materialized in a peaceful way. Our policy of peaceful reunification is to achieve reunification also be achieved in precisely in that way. It can also be achieved in a different way, through war. If the American scoundrels unleash a war against us, we will have to drive the aggressors out by force of arms. In that case, they will meet with the armed counteroffensive of the entire Korean people in the north and south. Why shouldn't we arm the people of the southern half when the Yankees attack us by force of arms? In that case, they will meet with the armed counteroffensive of the entire Korean people in the north and south. Why shouldn't we arm the people of the southern half when the Yankees attack us by force of arms?

No matter in what way Korea be reunified, it is most important to educate the north and south Korean people constantly in the revolutionary spirit. Writers and artists should depict in their works of literature and art not only the experience of the revolutionary struggles of bygone days and the struggles for the

revolution and construction in the northern half, but also the struggle of the people and revolutionaries of the southern half.

The southern half has many excellent experiences and heroic deeds in struggle to draw on. Why can't you describe them? Take the October Popular Resistance, for example. It does not matter who guided it. Though Pak Hon Yong ruined that struggle, the history of the valiant struggle of the people cannot be blotted out. You can also write about the cause of the failure of this heroic struggle of the people. And what glorious and gallant struggles the April 19 Popular Uprising and the June Third Demonstration Struggle were! You should write stories, produce films and compose songs about such struggles. You should write forceful works that can inspire the south Korean youth and students to fight the Yankees to the death after they read them. In our country there are so many heroic deeds performed by numerous revolutionaries in their struggle. You should create many works of literature and art, including films and novels, on the basis of such materials.

Recently I have heard of a certain comrade fighting in south Korea. The story of the tremendous struggle he has waged would fill a large volume. Even though he lost contact with the revolutionary organization, he continued to fight up until now without a day's letup. The deed of this comrade is really worth of high praise not only in respect to the duration of his struggle but in its import. If you write a story based on such themes, it will become a fine textbook for revolutionization of south Korean youth and students. Needless to say, it will also be good educational material for our young folks in the northern half.

You should write not only about post-liberation struggle of the south Korean people, but also about their struggle in the pre-liberation days. The Kwangju Student Incident for instance, can offer a nice plot. At one time Pak Chang Ok tried to ban even the commemoration of this event and also that of the March First Movement. As historical subjects, you can choose similar events from the history of the anti-Japanese, anti-U.S. struggles of the people.

You should give as much educational material as you can to the revolutionaries and patriots of the southern half. It is all the more necessary to give the comrades fighting in the southern half plenty of literary and art works depicting their struggle in the southern half, their joys and sorrows, and their life rather than those about socialist construction in the northern half. We have done very little in this respect. As to those films, for instance, *A People's Teacher* is a good story, but the hero's splendid career comes to an end with his devoted participation in socialist construction. The question of the revolution in the southern half and the question of the country's reunification are not treated. However excellent in itself, this kind of film does not meet the needs of the revolutionaries in the southern half or answer their questions.

It is the foremost revolutionary task of our Party to reunify the country. That is explicitly provided for in the Party Rules. Our literature and art can never swerve from this revolutionary task of the Party.

At present, many good comrades are imprisoned in south Korea. We must imbue those comrades behind bars with confidence. They are waiting for the south Korean people to rise up in struggle and open the prison gates. They watch how the situation is changing, every day and every hour. We should give them hope and let them know that those who shed blood and fall in their fight in south Korea will leave their mark on the glorious history of our revolution. Only then will they fight bravely and unflinchingly in prison or on the scaffold, and a huge army of revolutionaries will follow them unceasingly into the scene of struggle.

How can we face the comrades of the southern half, if we do not produce revolutionary works of literature and art to encourage the revolutionaries in the southern half, although we have excellent paper mills, fine publishing houses and a detachment of hundreds of thousands of writers and artists?

Our writers could write masterpieces with those already dead or still living as models. You should not write a biography about a living person. That cannot impress people very much. Suppose you

decide to write. You could produce a masterpiece using as models those comrades who fought on their missions given by the Revolutionary Army before liberation. The struggle of those comrades of the People's Revolutionary Army in the pre-liberation days, their indefatigable battle in prison, arrested by the enemy during underground activities in the homeland while on revolutionary missions; the impressive reunion of long-separated comrades following liberation and their subsequent devoted struggle for the building of the Party and for the founding of the power and the armed forces, their amazing activities in the Fatherland Liberation War, their arduous retreating operations after advancing as far as the River Rakdong-gang, breaking through enemy encirclement, and their struggle for the postwar rehabilitation and construction—these great historic evets could be your plot to portray the typical image of the heroes growing up in the midst of struggles along with the development of the Korean revolution. There is your masterpiece! Only with such writings, will you be able to make people realize that revolution is something full of ups and downs, educate them in the spirit of revolutionary romanticism and give hope and courage to our comrades in prison.

To cite an instance, you can write a fine work with Comrade Kim Chaek as a model, I think. His struggle in Manchuria, his prison-life in Seoul, his return to the organization after his prison term to resume his struggle, his second jail-life in Kirin his guerrilla warfare thereafter—what an arduous and glorious revolutionary life all this shows! When Comrade Kim Chaek left the Sodaemun Prison, he had no money for the trip, so he went to Comrade Ho Hon who had volunteered to defend him in court, and got 1 won and 20 or 60 chon in the currency of that time, and came back to Kando. Even now I am moved to tears whenever I recall the scene of his reunion with his son in Pyongyang after liberation. At that time he said to me: "This boy hesitated to come in because he is barefooted. So I told him, 'The General won't think ill of you for your bare feet. Do you think the General would be pleased if you came to him as a well-off dandy in Western clothes? I rather like you barefoot. Let's get in.' So I

persuaded him, and brought him in." Why doesn't such an impressive anecdote move the hearts of writers and artists?

You should demonstrate through your works that the life of a revolutionary is arduous but one can live that way once he is resolved. Especially, we should educate our young folks in the spirit of revolutionary optimism.

When we visited the People's Army units on the occasion of February 8 last year, we were bitterly sorry that young people now did not know the hardships of life and did not know how their parents and elders had suffered before. Our young soldiers do not know well what straw sandals are, what farm rent is and what a farm hand is. A young man twenty-five years old now would have greeted the liberation at the age of six, and he has no clear idea of what the old society was like. If he has any idea of it, that is by and large but a scintilla of knowledge that he got from books. You should not forget that if we do not properly educate the new generation, our youth may lose the revolutionary spirit and become useless people who want to live in idleness.

We cannot carry out the revolution with the youth who understand nothing of landlords and capitalists. At present, most of the company commanders of our army have combat experience, but platoon leaders have no experience in battle. The makeup of cadres in our army has already changed to such an extent. Nevertheless, the cadres upwards of company, battalion and regimental commanders have tested the bitterness of life and have battle experience. We should achieve our country's reunification before our cadres get too old. Anyway, we should not leave the task of reunifying the country to posterity.

At the time of guerrilla struggle, when we composed a revolutionary song, even the puppet Manchukuo Army soldiers sang it, to say nothing of the peasants. We did not know much about setting songs to music, and when we were busy we wrote only the words and sang it to old tunes. But still the people liked singing such songs. If you comrades compose a good song, men of the "ROK army" in south Korea will sing it, and so will the south Korean students.

The workers in the field of music should further develop our national music to suit the sentiments and aspirations of the socialist builders.

Almost all the songs which have come out during the last few years are good ones. How excellent the songs such as *O, Blizzard, Blizzard* and *To a Decisive Battle* are! These songs are beautiful and yet august enough to arouse people to the revolutionary struggle. Songs like *Pochonbo, My Home*; *Amnok-gang River*, *Two-Thousand Ri*; and *Spring Site* for women's chorus are rich in Korean melody and suit the feelings of our people. *Bumper Year on Chongsan-ri Plain* seems to be the best of all pieces produced recently. This song, which is Korean through and through in its melody, fully reflects the spirit of the day. The militant spirit of our working people rushing ahead in the saddle of Chollima and their optimistic emotions full of confidence in victory are well expressed in song. Our modern music must continue to follow this path.

As a whole our music is developing now in a sound and correct way. If it continues to advance in that direction, I think it would be quite acceptable. However, we should make still greater efforts to develop even further our own national music in conformity with the realities of the day.

Our music must be Korean in essence and it should suit the feelings of our people.

Our people do not like the pure European music which is alien to their sentiments.

Though our light music smacks considerably of old-fashioned crooning, people like it because it is Korean in essence. [Is] it is not fortuitous that Comrade Kim Jong Dok's songs enjoy popularity. His songs are somewhat crooned, but they are rich in Korea melody, cheerful and optimistic.

There are quite a few croon-type toons among the songs composed at the time of Japanese imperialist rule. Of course, decadent crooning tunes are bad. But we can continue to sing those croon-type songs which are not degenerate and are somewhat cheerful, and which inherit the forms of Korean folk songs. Because,

under the vicious Japanese imperialist colonial rule of almost half a century, our people sang songs deploring the corrupt society of the time, not a few of them being croon-type songs. The songs which the healthy-minded masses are fond of singing are certainly good ones. Songs which have inherited the forms of folk songs and which the masses like should be developed even though they smack of old-fashioned crooning.

As regards our national music, you had better develop mainly folk songs. Our folk songs should be compatible with the emotions of today's youth. *Ulsan Ballad* and *Moranbong* have really pleasant melodies. You should compose songs like these in large numbers. It is better to sing folk-style songs in chorus than solo.

Our classical operas, too, should have their roots in folk songs. *A New Song Flows Out of the Village Across the River*, which is based on folk songs of the western provinces, appeals to me very much. It seems to be advisable to develop the national music after this pattern.

Pansori lacks interest since it is too old-fashioned. The ballads of the southern provinces are what *ryangban* would chant over wine cups in those days when they used to wear horse-hair hats and get about on the donkey's back. These songs are not fit for our times. The youth nowadays do not like them. When listening to the radio, young people switch it off if *pansori* comes on. *Pansori* does not inspire the people nor arouse them to struggle. It is utterly ridiculous to imagine soldiers rushing into battle inspired by *pansori*. It is unthinkable that songs, which the aristocrats of old days used to sing while drinking, could suit the emotions of our youth who are building socialism.

Of course, I do not mean to say that you should not sing *pansori* at all. It is not bad to know that in former days there were also songs of this sort. So it would be a good thing to retain one *pansori* singer out of a hundred. We should preserve *pansori* but there is no need to encourage it.

Some comrades assert that the ballads of the southern provinces should be the basis of the national music. That is wrong.

The ballads of the southern provinces are the songs of *ryangban* of the old days and, in addition, they are sung with croaky sounds unpleasant to the ear. It is entirely opposed to natural vocalization. *A New Song Flows Out of the Village Across the River* and *Popsongpo Boatmen's Song* are all free from croaky sounds and are really pleasant to listen to.

Koreans generally have beautiful voices, and it is really terrible to hear a good-looking girl make hoarse sounds. You may be able to stand the hoarse noise of a man or Chun Hyang's old mother, but it simply makes you really sick to hear Chun Hyang utter such tones. One of the main reasons why our classical operas, including the *Tale of Chun Hyang*, are not popular among the people is that they are being hoarsely chanted in the ballad form of the southern provinces.

Contrary to the opinion of some, it is wrong to consider this husky noise a vocalization suitable for our national melody. It is not natural but artificial. Young people nowadays neither sing in this hoarse style nor do they like it. There is no need to argue about the traditional or modern vocalizations which permit natural, mellow and beautiful tones. The husky noise should decidedly be eliminated from our vocalism.

Some comrades insist that the State Art Theatre and the National Art Theatre should not go in the same direction and that the latter should preserve the husky-style songs. If it really does, it will have to be called National Classical Art Theatre instead of National Art Theatre, and only those who make husky sounds should be gathered there. The National Art Theatre should go forward, it cannot remain behind.

To modernize our national music, we should also consider the problem of further developing the instruments.

A shortcoming of our national instruments is that they produce croaky sounds. It seems that since the croaky voice was using in *chang*, the instruments were made to suit it. Some comrades are against improving the national instruments, but there is a need to do so. With the unimproved Korean traditional instruments, we can

neither modernize the national music nor fully express the sentiments of the people of our age.

After all, national instruments are appropriate for folk songs. It is excellent to have *Moranbong* performed with national instruments.

You should not jump to the conclusion that the Korean instruments are not suitable for marches, just because they are fit for folk songs. You can inspire the people adequately even with national instruments.

Some comrades say that Korean music cannot be performed with European instruments, but that is quite incorrect. *Bumper Year on Chongsan-ri Plain* is Korean in essence. But it sounds excellent when performed with European instruments. For this piece, which gives you a fresh, keyed-up feeling, European instruments are just right. When you combine the European instruments with the national ones like *saenap* and *ggwaenggwari*, it is even better. I think it is a good step to take.

It is also not at all bad to accompany Korean songs with light music. It is fine to play the Korean music on the violin or piano. At present there are a few Korean tunes written for piano; consequently you take it as a matter of course to start with European numbers when you come to study the piano. It is all right to learn European music, but you should learn Korean music first.

You should not play only European strains with European instruments. If you do not play Korean music, European instruments will be rejected by the people in the end.

We should make use of European instruments for the development of our national music. You should not subordinate Korean music to European instruments, but European instruments to Korean music.

You should compose lots of good music with Korean roots that can be performed with European instruments. The secret is in the composition. You should turn out plenty of music rich in Korean idiosyncrasy and prepare schools for European instruments.

Our music should express the sentiment of the day, regardless of whether it is for European or national instruments. The sentiment of the people changes with the times. Song in the *sijo* style chanted by learned men of the old days in the drawing-room do not suit the reality of today. We must develop our music to harmonize with the feelings of our working people who are building socialism.

We should not carry over the same ancient tunes that are out of keeping with the sentiments of our people today. Development of national music has nothing to do with restorationism.

You should not worship the classics too much on the grounds that things Korean must be treasured and promoted in music. Do you think young people of today would like it if you put horse-hair hats on their heads?

Since songs of the old days are all, by and large, based on Chines poetry, they are difficult to chant and unintelligible for the young folks of today. There is no need to retain them as they are. We ought to rewrite the Chinese verses into simpler language and modernize them. However assiduously you may copy the old, it is of no use if the masses do not like it. We should not strive to imitate the old material as it is, but direct our energies to remoulding and developing the valuable heritage our people created over many centuries, in conformity with the sentiments of the people of our age.

The national music department of the Conservatory should be reinforced so as to train more students specializing in folk songs and national instruments. We should, in this way, endeavour to modernize our national music and develop it in keeping with our times.

Music, like all other arts, should serve the masses of the people. We should develop our music basing it on our national melodies. After all, this makes for the creation of a music which the masses of the people can understand and enjoy. As far as we are concerned, there is no place for the so-called music for music's sake which only some experts can understand, or for the degenerate music which is to the liking of the exploiting classes. We should reject the decadent bourgeois music which dulls the revolutionary consciousness of the popular masses. We should categorically reject

music that makes crazy noises out of the abyss of sentimentality and sorrow, or leads man's mind to obscenity.

We should never allow the penetration of "jazz" in the future as in the past. It depraves and emasculates the youth and dulls their revolutionary consciousness. "Jazz" is an ideological weapon of the imperialists to degenerate revolutionary peoples. How can we accept the venom they direct at us, and by so doing destroy our own positions, when we have to fight U.S. imperialism to the end? We should thoroughly reject "jazz."

Our music should always be revolutionary as well as national.

I suggest that literary and art works about socialist construction and the revolutionary struggle be represented in our creative endeavours at a ratio of five to five. And as for those dealing with the revolutionary struggle, I think it would be right to make those of north and south Korea about four to one.

A few words about the question of our writers and artists going to the countryside. Actors and actresses should not coop themselves up in Pyongyang all the time but should also perform in rural areas. The arrangements should not be made as if they were separate categories of performers for Pyongyang and for the countryside. Writers and artists will become bureaucrats or aristocrats far removed from the people after all, if they just stay in Pyongyang. Then, the writers and artists will lose contact with the reality of our country, backslide and seek comforts. Actors can develop in the mainstream of life only when they go out to the countryside. If they go out to the countryside, they can see the thatch-roofed houses still left over and the peasants engaged in hard work. In this course, they will naturally stop thinking about the easy life, live simply and have the will to fight. All artists must, without exception, go and see the countryside.

If the writers and artists do not mix with the masses, become one with them and learn from them perseveringly, they will become aristocrats and bureaucrats, and be unable to make any contribution to our revolutionary work. Our writers and artists should be come revolutionary writers and artists who faithfully serve the workers and

peasants, who always get in touch with the workers and peasants, unite with them and know how to find the source of their inexhaustible creative talents.

SOME IDEOLOGICAL AND AESTHETIC PROBLEMS IN WORKS BASED ON REVOLUTION (10 Jan 1967)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1985), 21.11–23.

The directing and acting in the feature film *The Road I Have Found* are excellent. The plot is also well knit.

But this film has many shortcomings in content and artistic representation, which must be corrected. It is an adaptation of a novel *The Fog Creeps over a New Hill* and it failed because of the shortcomings of the original piece.

The most serious fault of this film is that it misrepresents the working class and revolutionaries.

The hero of this film is a worker. But the film has erred in handling the working class. It depicts the hero as a man with strong fists, a man of physical power or a hooligan. At the beginning of the film Kang Min Ho, a worker at an iron works, appears as a ruffian who attacks people, and his fellow workers are shown as hooligans or drunkards. This description is seriously wrong.

A strong-fisted, powerful ruffian who likes to pick a fight is not typical of the working class. The mighty force of the working class is not to be found in the strong fists of individual workers, but in their organization and solidarity. Therefore, in order to portray the working class correctly you must not show the strong fists of individual workers but their organization, revolutionary spirit, courage and the might of their solidarity.

It is an expression of the mistaken attitude to the working class that the film depicts them as a collection of quarrelsome or brutal people. We severely criticized the feature film Through Darkness for its misrepresentation of hired and poor peasants as fools and reactionaries, but a similar mistake has been repeated in the new film. There are some foreign films which depict the working class as scoundrels or anarchists. But we cannot allow such a practice.

This film makes it appear that Kang Min Ho was compelled to join the guerrilla army after being a ruffian and attacking people. This is also a serious mistake. Anti-Japanese guerrillas were true revolutionaries who started fighting with a noble revolutionary determination to defeat the Japanese imperialist aggressors and win back their lost country at the risk of their lives. So it is not correct to show them as people who were compelled to join the guerrilla army after such scandalous behaviour. Our fellow revolutionaries during the period of the anti-Japanese armed struggle were neither men of great physical strength nor scoundrels. Among them were good storytellers, good harmonica players and men of various talents, but not a hooligan nor a quarrelsome fellow.

By describing the hero, a worker and revolutionary, as a hoodlum, the film has defiled the working class and insulted the revolutionary veterans.

The film failed to give a truthful picture of the hero's growth into a revolutionary.

I always say that there is no such thing as a born revolutionary. Through life and struggle men will acquire a revolutionary outlook on the world and grow up to be revolutionaries. Therefore, in works of art the character of a revolutionary should be described in the course of his growth and development and should be shown through his actual life and struggle. The film meant to show the hero's growth by introducing the fact that he ran away after beating up a foreman at a work site and that, while taking part in a strike, he drowned several cat's-paws of Japanese imperialism. But this is not enough if you are to describe with accuracy the process by which the hero acquired his outlook on the world and the process of the development of his character.

In order to turn men into revolutionaries it is imperative to educate them systematically, test them by giving them tasks to perform and steadily train them through the practical struggle by giving them progressively heavier assignments. Therefore, the film should have shown the hero's growth through his initial participation and training in small group activities, for instance, and then through

his gradual political awakening and eventual commitment to the revolutionary struggle. The form of struggle, too, should have been on a small scale at first, and then gradually developed into a large-scale struggle. Then the description would have been true to life.

But this film does not contain any scenes in which the hero systematically develops into a revolutionary nor does it deal with any person who has a great revolutionary influence on the hero. In order to show the hero as being influenced by Mun Kyong Thae, the film shows Kang Min Ho staying at Mun Kyong Thae's. But there are no specific scenes where Mun Kyong Thae exerts a revolutionary influence on him except the scene where Mun Kyong Thae remains faithful to the revolutionary principles to the last moment of his life when executed. In the film the hero is shown becoming involved in a vehement debate from the outset at a reading circle, but that is not truthful either. The hero has not yet developed to such an extent that he can take part in such a heated argument.

It is another mistake to show the hero as being involved in the "Black Shirt Corps" of the Sanwagumi. The "Black Shirt Corps" was a foreign terroristic organization. It did not exist in our country. Whether it existed or not in our country, why should you present the hero as a member of such a reactionary organization? Even if he joined the corps on purpose, presenting him like that is unjustified. Whatever the purpose is, you must not depict a revolutionary as entering a reactionary organization, still less as receiving a bribe from it. Just as a cat, when it has once tasted a dish, will always steal it, so a revolutionary, once corrupted by money, cannot carry on the revolution.

In the days of our anti-Japanese armed struggle, some guerrillas marched into Japanese army units by pretending to defect and killed our enemies. We punished them severely, because such an act might disgrace the Anti-Japanese Guerrilla Army.

The scene in this film where the hero goes about drinking with a worker "Son of the Sea" is also undesirable. Although the hero is shown to be doing so with a view to winning him over, it may give people an impression that he becomes a revolutionary in the course

of mixing with a drunkard or that he resumes the road of revolution after behaving in a degenerate way. The relationship between the hero and the "Son of the Sea" in the film should be re-established in such a way that the hero begins educating him to win him over to the cause of the revolution as soon as the hero knows that he is discontented with society.

The film also failed to deal with the labour movement in our country in the 1920s properly.

I have spoken of this movement on many occasions and also clearly evaluated it in my report to the meeting to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the founding of the Party. But writers and artists did not study this and mishandled this matter.

There was no "teacher of revolution" like Mun Kyong Thae in our country in the 1920s. The film describes the revolutionaries in the 1930s as having grown up under the influence of the people who launched the communist movement in the 1920s. If such a "teacher of revolution" had really existed in the 1920s, how good it would have been! Most of these people degenerated into drunkards, who used to sing degenerate songs in the moonlight lamenting over life in an alien land before they changed their allegiance. The film made a grave mistake by presenting Mun Kyong Thae as a "teacher of revolution" and a "leader" and showing Kang Min Ho as participating in a revolutionary struggle under his leadership. This means tracing the origin of our Party's revolutionary traditions back to the 1920s.

The film handles the spread of Marxism in our country as if it came across from Japan, but that is not true. Marxism began to be disseminated by progressive patriots under the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. Marxism has never been disseminated in Korea by people like Mun Kyong Thae who had studied in Japan. What, then, is the need to make him a student studying in Japan and a "leader" of the labour movement? It would be better if the film showed him, not as a "leader" of the labour movement, but a friend of the hero Kang Min Ho.

The film also does not properly deal with the individuals who were involved in the communist movement in the 1920s.

It is true that they indulged in factional strife and most of them were ostentatious Marxists. But they contributed in some degree to the spread of Marxism in our country in the early 1920s. You must not, in disregard of all this, take a nihilistic attitude to the communist movement in the 1920s. The film shows those who were engaged in the communist movement at that time as people like the anarchists of Russia and as renegades. Should we depict them all as renegades and philistines in a work on the subject of revolution simply because they had many shortcomings?

If you are to give a proper representation of these people, you can deal with them in three categories—first, people who continued their struggle along the road indicated by Marxism; second, people who were reduced to reformists while talking loudly about Marxism for appearance's sake, instead of plunging into the difficult struggle; and third, people who became sheer renegades and cat's-paws of the enemy. Several ostentatious Marxists appear in the film, but their fate is not shown clearly. The fate of every character in the film should be handled clearly.

Another major defect of this film is that the middle class is not depicted properly.

In the film Sun Yong, who is an intellectual and the daughter of a nationalist, participates in the revolutionary struggle, but betrays the cause and marries the commander of the "punitive force" in the end. This is preposterous. Her father is a nationalist who participated in the March First Movement and is living up to his patriotic principles, working as a doctor in his small pharmacy. Nationalists in colonies have an anti-imperialist revolutionary spirit. Having received some training from her nationalistic father, Sun Yong would fight to the end for national liberation.

A revolution involves a fierce struggle between the working class and the bourgeoisie, a struggle to win over the middle class. The question of who wins over the middle class is an important issue on which the victory of the revolution depends. As I have said more than once, the complete victory of socialism will be achieved only when

the working class has won over all the middle class. So the communists regard it as a problem of great importance to achieve this.

The film ought to have shown the middle class as vacillating between the bourgeoisie and the working class and then siding with the latter. But it pushed the girl over to the enemy side, an intellectual of middle-class origin. In the feature film Through Darkness the intellectuals were represented as most admirable people, but this film shows them hesitating and then going over to the side of the enemy. These two films made mistakes in handling the Party's revolutionary line, its class line. The revolutionary struggle of the working class is a struggle to win over to the side of the revolution even hesitant intellectuals like Sun Yong and so save them. The film should deal with this properly.

Sun Yong is told by her father how Han Tal Su's father has secretly informed against many patriots including Kang Min Ho's father so as to have them massacred at the time of the March First Movement and how the traitor continued to act as a running dog of Japanese imperialism. She also saw her father rebuke Han Tal Su for annoying her by his courtship, and saw him demand that the boy keep away from her house. Not only that, but she finds herself more or less under the influence of Kang Min Ho and loves him. But she is deceived by Han Tal Su to betray her honour and become his wife. This reminds us of *Janghanmong*, a love story, published under Japanese imperialist rule, a story of Sim Sun Ae who loved Ri Su Il but was seduced by a capitalist named Kim Jung Bae. You have insulted the middle class too much.

Of course, a woman like Sun Yong may hesitate about the revolution and go astray for a while. But you must not show a human being as hopeless just because she makes one mistake. It would be a different matter if the film showed two men of middle-class origin, depicting one as fighting well for the working class, and the other going over to the enemy. But it is not right that the only middle-class woman in the film is pushed over to the enemy side.

Today intellectuals in south Korea are fighting well. A large number of young people, students and intellectuals in south Korea are

fighting bravely, risking their lives for national reunification and democracy. What good could the film do to these people in south Korea by describing the educated woman changing sides in the revolution? When they create a work, writers and artists must consider the effect it will have on the south Korean revolution and make sure that it will exert a revolutionary influence on the revolutionaries and people of south Korea.

The film also failed to treat the love affair of the revolutionaries properly.

It does this by putting the main characters in a triangular relationship, and by showing Kang Min Ho and Sun Yong starting with a love affair.

It would be better to put the hero Kang Min Ho and Sun Yong in a position of comradeship rather than of love between different sexes. In literature revolutionaries are often described as entering into a relationship, motivated by love between men and women. Of course, a love affair can come first, and then the lovers can educate each other in the course of struggle and go on fighting together to the end. But that is not typical of revolutionaries.

Revolutionaries do not love anybody blindly. They love only those who share the same ideology and will in the struggle. Men and women often help and save each other in the course of their revolutionary struggle. But if they immediately fall in love for that reason, what would become of it? In this film Kang Min Ho loves Sun Yong without putting her on due ideological probation. It appears that Kang Min Ho loves Sun Yong to repay his indebtedness for allowing him to hide in her house. Sun Yong, for her part, follows him only for love's sake. In fact, this is a cheap love between silly people—love based on the bourgeois idea of philanthropy. The relationship between Kang Min Ho and Sun Yong is not comradeship but mere affection between male and female, so it cannot develop into anything lasting, withstanding the trials of the revolution.

Further, the film does not reflect the women's struggle truthfully.

Here Kang Min Ho's mother is presented as too weak a woman. Being the mother of a revolutionary, she must at least be determined to work for the revolution, although her revolutionary consciousness is not as high as her son's. The son's struggle must have an effect on the mother to the point where she assists him in his activities. However, Kang Min Ho's mother is a woman of soft will and does not fight at all. All she does is to seize the lawless son of a landlord by the throat and shake him when she is peddling bean curds.

Her husband was a patriot who was killed in prison for his participation in the March First Movement. And her son fights well for the revolution. She herself leads a hard life, harshly oppressed and humiliated by the enemy. Why should such a mother be so powerless? This is impossible. The film has to show her taking an active part.

You can show her as a revolutionary from the start. In the scene where mother and son make bean curds, you can show the mother instilling anti-Japanese ideas in his mind. The mother can also exert a revolutionary influence on Sun Yong and implant revolutionary consciousness in the mind of Kyong Hui, thereby revolutionizing them. In the film which we have seen, Sun Yong educates the mother rather than the mother teaching her. This will not serve the purpose of giving prominence to the character of the mother. If you show her carrying out women's association work, you will be able to give more prominence to her character. Anyhow, the mother should be shown in her revolutionary awakening and in her revolutionary activities.

The film treats Sun Yong as a corrupt woman, but she must be saved so that she can fight to the end on the road of revolution.

While taking refuge in Sun Yong's house, Kang Min Ho should exert an ideological influence upon her to awaken her in a revolutionary way. When he finds her dreaming in a fascinating world of music, chanting poems and singing songs, Kang Min Ho should "attack" her: how can a Korean youth afford to sit idle, reciting poems and singing songs when we have no country of our own and when the whole nation is in dire distress? He must explain that there can be no real music for the people without their own country, that if she wants

true music, she must first win back the lost country and that, to do this, she must fight. Sun Yong should thus be encouraged to have a determination to work for the revolution as soon as possible. Of course, Kang Min Ho, at this stage, is not yet a seasoned revolutionary. However, since he has anti-Japanese sentiments and wants to fight for the revolution, he can talk to her to that extent.

It would be preferable if Sun Yong were to tell Kang Min Ho, when they are boating, that she, too, will fight and wants assignments, rather than saying that she misses him when she is alone. You will be able to bring her character into bold relief, if you describe her working under the educative influence of Kang Min Ho's mother after his departure for a new theatre of struggle, and then show them being reunited to fight together.

It is important to represent the women's struggle in the film properly. Women in south Korea are now fighting very well. If the film vividly shows the activities of the mother and Sun Yong as well as the process of their being revolutionized, it will acquire a greater educational value.

Kyong Hui, Mun Kyong Thae's younger sister, should also fight. It would be advisable for her to be educated and awakened by her brother. A revolutionary must first revolutionize his own family. The film should give a picture of Mun Kyong Thae awakening his sister to class consciousness and leading her to the road of struggle by telling her in the course of their daily lives about society and about how the people are exploited and oppressed, instead of showing him buying his sister rubber shoes and hair ribbons.

The film also has dialogues and scenes which need correction.

When leaving for the guerrilla army, the hero promises Sun Yong that they will meet again on the day of the country's liberation. But it would be better for him to tell her to meet him when there is a great revolutionary uprising. When the "Son of the Sea" talks nonsense, while in the company of the hero, he must be advised to refrain from talking such nonsense. This requires some additional dialogue.

When Sun Yong asks her father to work for the release of imprisoned Kang Min Ho even if it means selling her organ, the father says nothing. He should say that he will do his best to launch a campaign for his release.

Some changes are also needed in what Mun Kyong Thae says to Kang Min Ho. Talking about the need for prudent organization of a campaign to win consolation money for an injured longshoreman, Mun Kyong Thae tells Kang Min Ho that they should begin with a small-scale campaign and then gradually develop it into a large-scale one and that solidarity of the working class is the source of their strength. This is good, of course. But here it would be more effective in quickly awakening those people who lack political consciousness to say that an economic struggle should be developed gradually into a political struggle rather than saying that a small-scale struggle should be developed into a large-scale struggle. It is more important here to teach what kind of a struggle should be undertaken by united effort and how it should be done than emphasizing the necessity for solidarity.

Mun Kyong Thae's letter to his sister, written in jail on the eve of his execution, needs to be changed. In his last letter Mun Kyong Thae ought to give her some revolutionary instructions. But, instead, he tells her whom she should marry. As a revolutionary, he must tell his sister that she should remain Kang Min Ho's revolutionary comrade, rather than his wife, and that she should fight well with firm conviction even after his death and become an excellent revolutionary.

The scene where the landlord dispossesses peasants of their land is effective in showing how cruelly the landlords oppressed and exploited peasants in those days. I think the scene where strikers are shot to death by the enemy will stimulate people's hatred for the enemy as well as their class readiness.

Still, the film has many superfluous scenes.

The scenes showing cheerful Japanese are lengthy. What is the point of showing them like that? It will be sufficient to show them

suppressing the striking workers to expose their ferocity and brutality. The Japanese financial clique has been exaggerated.

The scene where the mother and Kyong Hui weep on receiving the news of the death sentence on Mun Kyong Thae and Kang Min Ho is also lengthy. The scenes of the longshoremen's strike and of Kang Min Ho and Sun Yong's boating are boring. The superfluous scenes should be cut and the activities of the mother and Sun Yong should be inserted in their place.

It would be a good idea to add a scene showing Sun Yong reading a letter from Kang Min Ho and a scene of Sun Yong, the mother and Kyong Hui having an interview with Mun Kyong Thae in prison at the end of the first part of this film. At the interview Mun Kyong Thae should inform the visitors of the continued existence and activities of the underground organization so as to inspire them with confidence in their struggle. He should express his thanks to the mother for bringing up an excellent son and tell Kyong Hui to fight well with the good mother and her good elder sister.

This should be followed by a scene where the hero Kang Min Ho crosses a river to go to a new area of struggle. This will show that the underground struggle continues and that the struggle develops onto a new and higher phase.

The defect of this film is that it has failed to keep its own identity as a motion picture because of its fidelity to the original book.

A motion picture has its own characteristics, so it need not follow the original too rigidly; it must preserve its identity. Had it done so, this could have been a good film in spite of the shortcomings in the original.

If it is to be faultless the original must be revised. If it is patched up in one scene or another as if mending worn-out clothes, without revising the original, no good will come of it. The original and the scenario should be revised, and then the film must be shot again.

When you adapt a novel for the screen in the future, you must put the novel to public discussion. The screen version must come only

when the original has won a good public reputation. A work with such a reputation will be the basis of a good film.

We can say that the novel *The Fog Creeps over a New Hill* was a failure because of the low level of the author's qualifications. Our writers are not good at creating works on revolutionary themes, mainly because they do not really know our Party's policy and Marxist-Leninist principles and because they lack a correct class viewpoint. Even veteran writers lack revolutionary training and personal experience because they did not play a direct part in the revolution in the past. Besides, they have little knowledge of revolutionary theory because they neglect to study.

This fact and their lack of deep knowledge have been revealed in this case. Many writers are not clear about our Party's class line and cannot distinguish clearly between the motive force and the target of our revolution. In a word they are not well-equipped with a revolutionary outlook on the world. This is why their works have shortcomings of this kind.

Their inadequate knowledge of our Party's class line and of the motive force of our revolution was the reason why they described the working class as hoodlums and sent the middle class to the enemy side in the novel *The Fog Creeps over a New Hill*, and handled the hired farm hand and poor peasant as fools in the scenario of *Through Darkness*. *The Family of Choe Hak Sin* is a good work which correctly presents the class line of our Party. This film correctly shows that we can form a united front with religious men, but not with pro-US elements. Only when writers have a firm class position and correct class viewpoint can they produce good works.

The writers' hazy idea of the history of the communist movement and of the historical background to the 1920s in our country also explains why they failed to give a correct picture of the labour movement in our country in the 1920s and why they depicted Marxism as having been introduced into our country from Japan in the novel *The Fog Creeps over a New Hill*.

Writers must study hard. It is advisable to send them to university so that they can acquire a thorough knowledge of our Party

policy, class line and revolutionary lines. In addition, they should be given many opportunities to hear the personal accounts of revolutionary veterans.

The authors of the novel *The Fog Creeps over a New Hill* and the scenario for *Through Darkness* have all been trained and cared for by the Party. They should be criticized and educated so that they can rectify their defects quickly and work well.

We should provide writers with adequate work rooms and various other working requirements. In this way, they will be encouraged to produce more works on the subject of revolution. Only when they create many such works will more good films be produced.

ON REVOLUTIONIZING STUDENTS AND INTENSIFYING THE EDUCATION OF STUDENTS (27 Jan 1967)

From *Kim Il-Sung Works* (Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1985), 21.71–85.

This year we are introducing universal compulsory nine-year technical education. From now on, all the younger generation in our country will receive compulsory nine-year education.

Since we are spending a large sum of money on this project, we must provide the younger generation with a good education and train them all to be workers who are equipped with rich general knowledge and technical skill. The main purpose of our universal compulsory nine-year technical education is basically to intensify both general and basic technical education so as to train the younger generation into becoming useful workers.

Several years ago we set up technical schools with a two-year course with a view to training the younger generation in technical skills in certain branches. The experience in the operation of these schools over a period of time shows that training in technical skills at these schools has not been effective because of inadequate facilities for practical work. So we decided to abolish these two-year technical schools which were mainly supposed to give technical training, and, instead, institute compulsory nine-year technical education which is designed to give basic technical training.

We must see that this form of education is devoted to teaching the pupils general knowledge and basic technical expertise or common technology which can be applied in all branches of the national economy. Of course, basic technical education should be given on a different basis in accordance with the characteristics of urban communities, workers' districts and rural communities.

If education is to be effective, the teachers must be revolutionized and their qualifications improved.

The question of revolutionizing teachers has been raised over a long period. But this work is not yet proceeding properly. The

ideological education of teachers, for instance, is being conducted in a perfunctory fashion. The department of the Party Central Committee which is in charge of education is not pushing forward with the work of revolutionizing teachers by concentrating on it, nor are the Ministry of General Education and the Ministry of Higher Education in any way concerned about this work.

The revolutionization of teachers is a very urgent matter both in view of the prevailing situation today and of the spirit of the Party Conference and in the light of the importance of the teachers' revolutionary duties.

Whether the teachers' working-class standpoint is firm or not has a decided effect on the education of their pupils. Any teacher, who is not firm in his working-class outlook, will be unable to give a good education to his pupils. This could cause a great loss to the revolution and construction and could have serious consequences. Therefore, nothing is more important in the direction of educational work than to increase the teachers' class consciousness, harden their Party spirit and revolutionize them. All teachers must be infinitely loyal to our Party, equip themselves firmly with the Party's ideology, the revolutionary ideology of the working class, and have a good knowledge of Party policy. Only then will they be able to educate their pupils correctly.

We must make every effort to revolutionize teachers so that they all follow our Party and stand by the revolution, by the working class, firmly. We do not need teachers who lack Party spirit, the spirit of the working class, teachers who do not support the Party.

There can be different forms and ways of revolutionizing teachers. But the most effective way is to give them training courses, and then hold meetings to temper them ideologically.

The Party Central Committee has already been applying this method to our work with the chief secretaries of provincial, city and county Party committees, and recently also with the secretaries of Party cells. Some time ago, it organized a training course and a meeting for the cell secretaries and set an example for all the city and county Party committees to follow in their work with the cell

secretaries. But some of the county Party committees gathered the cell secretaries of their counties in assembly halls, gave them training courses which were followed by several days' meetings as a substitute for their work. This is not the correct way to help cell secretaries in their work.

If they are to assist cell secretaries properly, the county Party committees must give them training courses, and then hold a meeting for ideological training in each ri. Only then will they obtain detailed knowledge of how cell secretaries are working among the cadres, among the hard-core elements, among the Party members, and among the masses from different sections, and how they are conducting Party study, Party life and their private lives. On this basis, the county Party committees can teach the cell secretaries the work method in concrete terms and help them to act appropriately in specific conditions. This may take a long time, but the county Party committees must use this method and educate, temper and assist cell secretaries efficiently. The same method applies to the revolutionization of teachers.

The training course for teachers should combine political training and practical training in order to give real assistance to the teachers in their ideological training, moral education and the performance of their duties. Political training should include education in Party policy—its educational policy in particular. Practical training should deal with the method of educating students, the method of class work and the method of school management. Training courses for the teachers in higher education and for those in general education should be given separately, and the syllabuses for each of the courses should be geared to their specific requirements.

The lecturers should prepare their lectures well. Some time ago a short course was given to the chairmen of the county cooperative farm management committees prior to their consultative meeting. At that time, a well-prepared lecturer gave a good lecture, illustrating it by lively examples and speaking in simple language. But another man who was not well prepared gave an uninteresting lecture, only listing principles and propositions. Such a tedious lecture is boring to an audience. We must see that the lecturers for the

teachers' training course are well prepared and deliver stirring lectures.

You must efficiently organize and conduct the meeting for teachers' ideological training which will follow their short course.

Meetings of this kind should be held on a school basis, taking each school in turn. The meetings for ideological training which are to be held in higher educational institutions should be guided directly by the Party Central Committee, and those to be held in the general education schools should be directed by local Party organizations.

Meetings of this kind may be difficult to handle and will take a long time because there are many schools and hundreds of teachers in each county. Nevertheless, the meetings should not be held in a perfunctory manner. These meetings must be conducted on a positive basis since they are important opportunities for examining and tempering the teachers ideologically.

At these meetings each of the teachers themselves should make a report on how he prepares his lectures, how he teaches his pupils, how he studies political affairs and practical subjects, and how he leads his private life. And then, his merits and shortcomings should be evaluated so that he will seriously examine and criticize his own work from the ideological point of view. Teachers should be given good education and assistance at such an opportunity so that they will be further awakened politically and ideologically and acquire revolutionary training.

The revolutionization of teachers is a very difficult undertaking which transforms their ideology so as to prepare all of them to be true educational fighters of our Party, to be revolutionaries, and to be communists. One or two short courses and meetings will not be sufficient to revolutionize the teachers completely. Even after these events, this work must be continued tirelessly.

Only by revolutionizing and working-classizing the teachers and other intellectuals can we achieve the complete victory of socialism. This will be impossible unless we win over the former well-to-do middle peasants, intellectuals and other people of the middle class.

The struggle for socialism and communism is a serious class struggle between the working class and the capitalist class to decide who will prevail. Victory or defeat in this struggle depends on who wins over the middle class. The working class, after the seizure of power and the establishment of the socialist system, can emerge victorious only by continuing with the revolution and winning over the middle class.

It is the former workers and poor peasants who really approve of socialism and give it unqualified support in our country at present. By their class nature, they accepted socialism at the outset and have given it their unreserved support.

When we were directing a conference of the Party organization in Kaechon County in 1956, we heard a speech from an old man. In those days the Party encouraged the cultivation of maize which is a high- yielding crop. But some farmers were doubtful. Nevertheless, in his speech the old man referred to his experience with a rural committee formed to distribute land at the time of agrarian reform, and his experience with an agricultural cooperative organized in the difficult postwar years, and then he expressed his firm conviction that he would not be mistaken if he followed the Party's instructions, and he said that it was his firm resolve to plant maize on a large scale to achieve a high yield, pursuant to the Party's policy. This was the authentic voice of a poor peasant who had acquired land by fighting with the working class.

In contrast, the middle class is still wavering, being doubtful about socialism. Some of them have, of course, accepted the idea of socialism because they have shaped their revolutionary outlook on the world. But there are also quite a few people who are still unsure about the real superiority of the socialist system.

If we are to see that the middle class really recognizes the advantages of socialism, we must carry on economic construction successfully, raise the people's standard of living much higher, so that everyone is provided with a diet of rice and meat soup, with good housing and with ready access to any item of consumer goods he needs.

Socialist economic construction is important, but the ideological revolution must not be regarded as a matter of secondary importance. If we are to win over the middle class completely, we must transform their ideological consciousness on a communist line. This is more important than economic construction. The decisive factor in winning over the middle class is to equip them with communist ideology and revolutionize them.

It can be said that socialism is completely victorious when people's ideas have undergone revolutionary transformation and when the material and technical foundations of socialism have been built up to such an extent that the middle class supports socialism wholeheartedly. Therefore, it is a mistake to view the socialist reorganization of the old relations of production as the end of a transition period from capitalism to socialism and as the complete victory of socialism. If socialism is to triumph conclusively, the working class, after the establishment of the socialist system, must working-classize the whole of society by reshaping the peasantry and intellectuals in its own image, and must also develop the productive forces and raise the people's standard of living to such an extent that all members of society unanimously support socialism.

We must continue to intensify political work in order to revolutionize and working-classize the teachers and other intellectuals. They should be kept informed of Party policy in good time so that they will always have a correct understanding of the Party's ideas and intentions and educate the young students and schoolchildren accordingly.

The teachers must improve their qualifications radically.

At present, university lecturers are not good at lecturing, and the academic records of students are unsatisfactory. This is mainly due to the fact that the lecturers' qualifications are low. The failure to establish Juche in educational work is also largely due to their low qualifications. Because of this the lecturers cannot escape from the old framework of dogmatism.

Higher qualifications for lecturers are necessary also for the rapid promotion and development of science and technology in our

country, which are at present in a backward state, lagging behind development in the rest of the world.

Lecturers must thoroughly acquire the habit of study and improve their qualifications as soon as possible.

An important factor in raising their qualifications is that they should acquire a wide knowledge about Korea.

No matter how much they know about foreign things, this is useless if this knowledge cannot be applied to Korea. For this reason, I told the people who have been abroad to study that, if their foreign knowledge was of no relevance to our country, they should discard it and make a fresh start.

Take agriculture for instance. In a country with a large area of cultivated land they can apply crop rotation and raise crops by bringing more land under cultivation. But this is impossible in our country which has a small area of cultivated land. We have to apply intensive farming in our conditions. However rich a knowledge of foreign agriculture one may have, it is not applicable in our country. The agricultural university teachers should master our Party's policy on agriculture and the farming method of our country and should strive to acquire the scientific and technological knowledge of agriculture in our country and establish their own explicit point of view on this matter.

If we are to have a complete knowledge of our country, we must wipe out dogmatism and flunkeyism towards big powers. Of course, this does not imply that we should close our doors. A knowledge of the world will help one to know one's own country better, and the study of advanced foreign science and technology will help one to catch up with the advanced countries and to wipe out dogmatism and flunkeyism.

We must ensure that university lecturers are provided with adequate supplies of books on science and technology to help them to improve their qualifications. In particular, a large number of foreign books on science and technology should be translated and published for widespread use amongst lecturers.

At present, many people cannot read foreign books even after a university education. Not many of the people who studied abroad can read foreign books easily, even books from the country where they studied. That is why the libraries which were furnished in the postwar years with a large number of foreign books on science and technology are not proving to be of much value.

Foreign scientific and technological literature should be translated and published so that it can be read by everyone. This work should be done on an annual plan, and the translated publications must be circulated to universities and scientific research institutes. This is the way to help the university lecturers, scientists and technicians to improve their qualifications and also to assist the students to do away with the bad habit of sticking to their lecture notes.

Even in the difficult years of the anti-Japanese armed struggle, we saw to it that foreign books such as *Foundations of Leninism* and *Problems of Leninism* were translated for the people's education. In our present conditions, we are in a position to do whatever we choose to do.

A translation publication bureau must be set up under the direct control of the Cabinet to ensure a large output of publications on science and technology. This bureau must have a small staff of linguists who have a good command of the Russian, English, Japanese and other foreign languages. Everyone, including the head of the bureau, should do translations.

The translation of scientific and technological literature can be done by any one who knows foreign languages well. University lecturers and people in scientific research institutes should actively participate in the translation of foreign books related to their special subjects.

The education of students has to be improved.

The most important task in this connection is to give effective class education and education in socialist patriotism.

With the passage of time, the revolutionary veterans grow old, and a change of generations takes place in the revolutionary ranks.

Therefore, if the younger generation does not hate imperialism, landlords and capitalists and does not know how to fight them, revolution will not be carried forward, and even the revolutionary achievements might be jeopardized.

The revolutionary cause of the working class can be carried through to the end only when the younger generation is educated to hate imperialism, landlords and capitalists and to fight devotedly for the socialist system and the socialist motherland.

Having only grown up happily under the socialist system, our younger generation does not clearly understand what exploitation and oppression by landlords and capitalists are like. They know a little about such exploitation and oppression from what they have heard or read, but not through their own experience. They do not seriously feel that the socialist system is good and that the socialist motherland is precious. They take it for granted that they are living happily today. One day when we were passing by a newly built school, one of my company said that nowadays children considered it a matter of course to have such a fine school built and to be given free education by the state and that they seemed to think that things had always been that way. He was right. The younger generation does not really know what the grief of an enslaved nation is like, how agonizing it is to be subjected to exploitation and oppression by landlords and capitalists, and how their happiness of today has fallen into their laps. So we must clearly show the younger generation the grief of a nation which has been deprived of its sovereignty and the exploitative nature of landlords and capitalists so that they will staunchly fight imperialism, landlords and capitalists, with ardent patriotism and a high degree of class consciousness. For the educational sector to prepare for war means that it educates the students properly so that none of them will become undependable characters and so that all of them will be true heroes like Ri Su Bok.

We must give the students a clear understanding of the superiority of the socialist system in our country.

Although our children are not clear on this subject, because they are growing up in contentment, the people who have come from

south Korea are said to feel the great advantages of the socialist system in the northern half of Korea immediately. Indeed, it is said that south Korean society is terrible to see. I was told that Seoul, for instance, is disgustingly corrupt and squalid. The streets of Seoul are swarming with children of school age who beg for bread, who peddle cigarettes, and who polish shoes for money because they cannot afford school education. These streets are also full of unemployed people who are looking for loads to carry for hire as well as many lodging houses which harbour prostitutes. People from the corrupt south Korean society can only feel keenly the superiority of our socialist system when they see for themselves that in the northern half of Korea there is not a beggar nor an unemployed person, that all the children have access to school free of charge, that even adults study while on the job, and that everyone gets the benefit of free medical care and lives happily, free from worries.

Teachers must educate their students by means of comparison between socialism and capitalism, between the northern and southern halves of Korea, so as to convince them of the advantages of the socialist system and the corruptness of the capitalist system.

If we are to improve the class education of students and their education in socialist patriotism, we must build up the ranks of teachers. It is, of course, true that it would be ideal to appoint as teachers the people who have firsthand experience of being subjected to exploitation and oppression and of revolutionary trials. But there are not many such people capable of teaching other than the younger generation who have grown up since the liberation. In these circumstances, it is necessary, in building up the ranks of teachers, to combine the veteran teachers with the experience of oppression by landlords and capitalists and of revolutionary trials with a proper proportion of young teachers. The educational department of the county Party committee, which maintains contact with teachers at all times and educates them regularly, should be staffed, as far as possible, with older people who have experienced exploitation and oppression by landlords and capitalists in the past.

Students should be actively involved in social and political activities.

In order to train them to be revolutionaries, political workers, it is necessary to draw them into giving publicity to Party policy, mass enlightenment work and other socio-political activities in their early years and, in the process, educate and temper them in a revolutionary way. Only then, will they acquire, from childhood onwards, a determination to work for the revolution and revolutionary stamina. Abstract words alone do them no good.

I started the revolutionary struggle at the age of 13 by forming underground revolutionary organizations. I knit young people into organizations, equipped them with revolutionary thoughts and educated people by establishing schools and night schools in rural communities. I also delivered lectures to peasants, disseminated songs and gave dramatic performances. In this way, I revolutionized rural communities one by one.

At that time, we conducted the underground struggle in very difficult conditions, indeed. We had to carry on information and revolutionary activities in the face of danger, avoiding surveillance and pursuit by reactionary police and special agents.

But what favourable conditions we have nowadays! Marxist-Leninist ideas and our Party's policies can be propagated in public, all the young students and schoolchildren lead an organizational life as members of the Children's Union or the League of Socialist Working Youth while receiving free and compulsory education, and every school is equipped with a variety of musical instruments. In addition, they can travel anywhere by train or by bus.

Although conditions are so favourable, schools neglect the sociopolitical lives of the students. At present, students, and university students in particular, are left out of socio-political activities, and this is a grave shortcoming. They are indifferent to politics, lack revolutionary enthusiasm, and are growing up unlike revolutionaries. For the current vacation period, too, the schoolchildren of the general education sector are said to have been

given only homework. All this is because the schools, the Children's Union and LSWY organizations did not organize work properly.

Schoolchildren should be encouraged from childhood to take an active part in socio-political activities by means of various forms and methods so that they can be awakened to class consciousness and trained in a revolutionary way. We must see that they disseminate Party policy and songs and give amateur art performances at factories and in rural communities. It would be a good idea to let urban schoolchildren do these things in the countryside, and the rural schoolchildren in the urban communities, and then they would share valuable experience gained in the process.

University students should be actively involved in the survey of the country's natural resources or in the fact-finding investigations which are necessary for the technical revolution. If the survey of tidelands, forests, irrigation canals, grazing lands and various other fact-finding investigations are conducted with the participation of university students who specialize in these fields, it will not only be good practice for them, but will prove effective in giving them a revolutionary education.

Students at agricultural universities alone number more than 4,000 in our country at present. If they are mobilized, nothing will be impossible. From now on, the university students must be encouraged to take an active part in fact-finding projects for different sectors of the national economy, so that they broaden their mental horizon and obtain a revolutionary education.

Literary works and other written material necessary for the education of students must be produced on a large scale.

Literature will have a great effect on the students, who enjoy reading it.

But at present, writers are not producing novels as they should. A novelist described a man who became a middle peasant by receiving land at the time of agrarian reform, as hesitating and causing trouble at the time of socialist transformation before joining an agricultural cooperative. This is a misrepresentation. A middle peasant who does not support agricultural cooperativization cannot

be typical of the middle peasants in our country. Middle peasants, along with the working class, are the motive force of our revolution at this stage of the socialist revolution. The way in which the novel dealt with the middle peasant as a trouble-maker before he joined the agricultural cooperative is a serious violation of the class line of our Party. In another novel, the same author depicted a revolutionary of working-class origin, the hero of his novel, as a ruffian. The working class is not characterized by strong fists like those of a boxer but by a strong sense of organization and discipline and by a strong revolutionary spirit. This novel also failed to show properly the process of the hero's being trained to be a revolutionary through an organized mass struggle of the working class and it did not deal with the middle class correctly.

These shortcomings in his works are due to the author's misunderstanding of our Party's class line and mass line. Because he was not clear about these two subjects, his novels failed to reflect the position and role of different sections of the masses at different stages of the revolutionary struggle accurately and went so far as to create stories which are contrary to the Party's class line.

Writers should produce many good books which are necessary for the revolutionary education of the people and students, with a correct understanding of the Party's class line and mass line and from a firm working-class standpoint. Books must represent our Party's class line and mass line accurately and give a true picture of our society.

University lecturers and scientists should also write a great deal for the education of students. Their works must deal with real problems with prudence. From now on, writings should be published only after public consideration. The publication of novels will also follow the same pattern.

Cadres must visit the universities frequently, to give lectures there. They do not like doing this, and this is wrong. Secretaries and department heads of the Party Central Committee, vice-premiers and ministers of the Cabinet and other cadres should visit universities and

give frequent lectures to the students on Party policy, on the present situation and other subjects.

The educational sector must implement our Party's class line and mass line correctly.

From this year onwards, the children of the people of all classes and sections will receive compulsory nine-year technical education, so it is important that the general education sector in particular implements the Party's mass line correctly. If teachers do not deal with this matter properly, they will stand in the way of uniting the masses around the Party. However, if they educate the schoolchildren well and work among their parents efficiently, they will help towards the strengthening of the political and ideological unity of society.

Schools should not only educate the younger generation to be loyal to the Party and the revolution, but make a proper contribution towards uniting the masses from different sections behind the Party by exercising a good influence on the parents of schoolchildren.

Of course, it will not be easy for teachers to work efficiently among the children of the people from all sections. If they are to do this properly in accordance with the Party's intention, they have to equip themselves firmly with our Party's policy and acquire a correct class point of view.

The Party's class line and mass line should be implemented correctly in the selection of students for universities and colleges. In particular, in their enrolment of students, the universities should give priority to the selection of fine people from among the children of the people of basic classes including the workers, peasants and working intellectuals. The composition of university students at once determines the future composition of the ranks of intellectuals, the composition of the ranks of cadres.

It is also necessary for the universities to look into the composition of their students on the basis of the provinces from which they came. Many of the cadres now on the job came from a limited number of provinces. Such a bias should be eliminated by

eradicating provincial prejudice first in the recruiting of university students.

The students who are to study abroad should be selected from among university graduates who have a strong Party spirit and are firm in their class standpoint, after two to three years of social training. Such people should be sent abroad to study technology for one year or two.

KIM IL-SUNG ON THE OPIATE OF THE PEOPLE 1

From *With the Century* (8 vols.; Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1994), 1.264.

Needless to say, I don't deny the proposition of Marx that religion is opium. However, you are mistaken if you think that this proposition can be applied in all cases. Do you think it right to brand as opium Chonbulgyo, a religion which prays for dealing out divine punishment to Japan and blessing the Korean nation? I regard Chonbulgyo as a patriotic religion and all the believers in this religion as patriots. Our only task is to rally these patriots into a single force.

KIM IL-SUNG ON THE OPIATE OF THE PEOPLE 2

From *With the Century* (8 vols.; Pyongyang: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1994), 5.307.

Marx's definition of religion as opium must not be construed radically and unilaterally. He was warning against the temptation of a religious mirage and was not opposing believers in general. We must welcome and join hands with any patriotic religionist, no matter what he or she is. You must realize that our guerrilla army is a patriotic armed force, whose primary mission is national salvation against Japan and the people's army which fights for the sake of the workers and peasants and also the Korean nation as a whole. Admittedly, the central role in this army is played by us communists. But that does not imply the exclusion of other circles or forces. Even a religionist must be enrolled in our ranks without hesitation, if he so desires. However, you are unable to see the unexpected windfall we have in our hands. With his help we can sow the seeds of the ARF among the Chondoists in the Kapsan, Phungsan and Samsu areas and bring the vast area of Ryongbuk under our influence. Time will only prove the worth of that young man, so you had better treat him well and take good care of him.